













Drawn by J. Hamillden.

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A HISTORY  
OF  
THE CIVIL WAR  
IN  
THE UNITED STATES;  
WITH  
A PRELIMINARY VIEW OF ITS CAUSES,  
AND  
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ITS HEROES.

BY  
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NAPOLEON III.," "ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES," "LIFE OF ALEXANDER  
HAMILTON," "HISTORY OF NICHOLAS I. AND THE CRIMEAN WAR," ETC.

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PART FIRST.  
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PHILADELPHIA:  
J. W. BRADLEY, 66 N. FOURTH STREET.  
1863.





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607 SANSON STREET, PHILADELPHIA.  
PRINTED BY KING & BAIRD.

## P R E F A C E.

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No event has occurred on the American Continent since the glorious Revolution of 1776, equal in magnitude and interest to the contest which has taken place between opposite and hostile portions of the Federal Union; and which all true patriots stigmatize by the unequivocal and significant epithet of the Southern Rebellion. So important was this struggle that it not only enlisted the most vigorous energies of the national government, and summoned its armies into the field, but it became the paramount topic in every mind. All classes of professions regarded it with intense interest, and watched the progress of events with profound anxiety. For this purpose scholars suspended their studies in recondite and learned subjects of inquiry; synods and general assemblies discussed the issues involved with solemn earnestness; the ordinary pursuits of the community seemed in a great measure to be modified and controlled by the novel and startling aspect of the times. This universally prevalent feeling was amply justified by the immense interests and the vital principles which were

to be disposed of by the conflict. Nor is it singular, that the war should ultimately engage the attention of mankind in all civilized countries, and that it should be regarded as the event of chief importance then transpiring on the globe.

There can be little doubt that a reliable history of the incidents connected with this memorable drama, and even more than one such history, would be acceptable to the public. In the following work, therefore, the writer has undertaken to describe its thrilling and marvellous scenes. He has set forth at some length the most potent of the causes which gave it birth. He has introduced, from time to time, biographical sketches of those soldiers and statesmen, who distinguished themselves by their heroism or by their patriotism during its progress. He has followed the march of the Federal armies, as they achieved one victory or suffered one temporary reverse after another; and the narrative will be continued, *Deo volente*, until the record is complete, and he has described how the Republic was conducted by firm and skillful hands through all the storms which have assailed it, to the attainment of a permanent and honorable peace.

The general rule according to which the following work has been written, was to describe events with more or less minuteness of detail, according to the proportion of their historical importance. Many incidents necessarily happen in such a struggle, spreading as it does over so vast an area, which may possess an intense though momentary interest,



and greatly excite the public mind at the period of their occurrence, which are nevertheless insignificant in their essential nature, and trivial in their ultimate consequences. As it was the design of the present writer to prepare a history of the war within a convenient and moderate compass, it became necessary to omit all, or at least any extended allusion to such events, so that the necessary space might remain in which to dwell with appropriate fullness upon the really decisive incidents of the contest. For the same reason no reference is made, in the biographical sketches which are introduced, to those ephemeral and factitious reputations which were created from time to time; which, going up suddenly and glaring portentously like rockets, descended again as quickly, and relapsed into their legitimate oblivion. An effort has thus been made throughout the work, to do justice to those events and persons to whom a genuine and permanent immortality appertains; at the same time to realize and exemplify the excellent maxim, *Parva sed apta*, not voluminous, but condensed and comprehensive.

The author has been assiduous and careful in regard to the materials from which the contents of the work have been derived. He has applied to his use every attainable source of information which was worthy of confidence and attention. Official reports of eminent commanders, and the narratives of intelligent and truthful eye-witnesses of the scenes described, together with various other depositories

of facts, have been thoroughly examined, compared and appropriated. The author has not the presumption to imagine that he has in all cases attained perfect accuracy ; but he does not hesitate to assert, that he has left no effort or expedient unemployed to avoid error and misstatement in every part of the work. An historical narrative of events of recent date labors under some disadvantages, while, at the same time, it may possess facilities and merits of which the record of more remote and unfamiliar transactions will be destitute. It has been affirmed that a correct history of a war like that against Secession could not be written till after the lapse of many years. We believe this statement to be erroneous. If the writer be impartial, laborious, and possessed of the necessary literary skill, he will have all the qualities essential to the elaboration of a satisfactory history of such a series of events ; and these qualities he may possess immediately after their occurrence, as well as at a more distant period. At the same time he will enjoy a superior advantage in the vividness and strength of the impression which the events have made, both upon his own mind, and upon the minds of those whose productions he consults in the preparation of his work.

S. M. S

*Philadelphia, Dec., 1862.*

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# THE SOUTHERN REBELLION.

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## INTRODUCTION.

ORIGIN OF THE SOUTHERN REBELLION—CLASSIFICATION OF ITS SEVERAL CAUSES—THE ACT OF 1816 RESPECTING A TARIFF—AGENCY OF HENRY CLAY AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—POSITION OF JOHN C. CALHOUN—HE FIRST CONCEIVES HIS PROJECT OF NULLIFICATION—HIS MEMORIAL TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON—THE OPERATION OF A HIGH TARIFF—THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA—OUTBREAK OF THE NULLIFICATION MOVEMENT—VIGOROUS MEASURES OF PRESIDENT JACKSON—MR. CALHOUN IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE—A MEMORABLE DEBATE—FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTY—AMERICAN SLAVERY—ITS ORIGIN—THE PROPOSITION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON—SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES—THE COMPACT OF 1787—COMPROMISE OF HENRY CLAY—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS—THE WILMOT PROVISIO—COMPROMISE OF 1850—SLAVERY IN KANSAS—RISE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—ITS PRINCIPLES AND POLICY—ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN—TREASON IN THE FEDERAL CABINET—PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS OF THE CONSPIRATORS—POLICY OF MR. BUCHANAN RESPECTING SECESSION—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860—ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN—THE DOCTRINE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AS OPPOSED TO FEDERAL CENTRALIZATION—DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT.

FROM the period of the establishment of the Federal Government, the people of South Carolina have been remarkable for their restive and troublesome temper. They were among most tardy and reluctant of the states in announcing their approval and acceptance of the Federal Constitution. They have always entertained a false and exaggerated estimate of their own importance

in the Union; and in all the troubles which have disturbed and alienated the opposite portions of the country, in all the conflicts in the National Legislature which have endangered the perpetuity of the Union, they and their leading statesmen have had an unenviable prominence. Their pernicious influence has been extended on various occasions to the communities immediately around them; and in some instances their disloyal example has been followed by not a few of the Southern States. Thus it was that they were gradually instrumental in fomenting a feeling extremely hostile to the Federal Government, which at length culminated in the outbreak of the Southern Rebellion. Although the censure due to the originators and chief perpetrators of that great crime does not belong exclusively to the people of South Carolina, it is but justice to ascribe to their agency a predominating share of it. We may arrange all the controversies which contributed to the birth of this Rebellion, under the three following general heads:

I. The Free Trade Policy, which, under the influence of Mr. Calhoun, led to the experiment of Nullification.

II. The Advocacy of Slavery, both as already existing in the Southern States, and as proposed in the new territories of the Federal Union.

III. The Doctrine of State Sovereignty and Supremacy, in opposition to the policy of Federal Centralization and Power.

In discussing the various causes which led to the Southern Rebellion, we will treat of them as comprised under these three general topics, and in the order of their historical sequence.

I. In the year 1816 an act was passed by the Federal Congress, by which a reduction of five per cent. was made on imported woollen and cotton goods. The people

and the statesmen of the country who were in favor of the policy of *protection*, were opposed to this reduction, and determined as soon as possible to secure the adoption of a higher tariff. Accordingly, in 1824, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams succeeded in obtaining the passage of a law, by which the profits of certain kinds of manufactures were greatly increased. It was soon discovered that the manufacturers of the Eastern States, those engaged in the iron trade in Pennsylvania, and the producers of wool and hemp in the Northern and Western States, who constituted the most important portions of the mercantile community in the nation, were not sufficiently protected by this tariff. Accordingly, in the session of Congress of 1827-8, after a long and desperate conflict with the advocates of the interests of the single staple of the South—cotton—a bill was passed imposing a tariff of duties, the average rate of which was nearly fifty per cent. on imports. This act received the votes of all the representatives of the nation except those of the more prominent Southern States. The latter condemned it in the most violent terms; stigmatized it as a “bill of abominations;” and began to mutter threats of future resistance and vengeance.

At that period the most distinguished member of Congress from the South, with the single exception of the patriotic Henry Clay, was John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina. No man excelled him, among that high and brilliant galaxy of genius, in logical acuteness, in his power of close, clear, demonstrative reasoning, in his general knowledge of the principles of international and municipal law, and in the boldness and fearlessness of his character. He was even then the *Magnus Apollo* of Sectionalism; and as soon as the tariff of 1828 was passed, in spite of his opposition and that of his con-

federates, by which the interests of the Cotton States were made secondary to the welfare of the whole nation, he commenced to revolve in his mind the desperate scheme of Nullification. If the National Government would not become subservient to the promotion of the interests of the South, could it not be possible to resist and overpower that government within the limits of the offended states? Calhoun's answer to this inquiry was an affirmative one.

Immediately after the adoption of this high tariff, meetings were held in several portions of South Carolina, in which the policy of Nullification was introduced, discussed, and finally commended. At the request of some of his constituents, Mr. Calhoun prepared a document, in July, 1831, which defended this policy under the existing state of affairs. This production was styled "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest on the Subject of the Tariff," and was addressed to the Legislature of the State. That body ordered a large number of copies to be printed and distributed, and afterward passed a resolution which declared the Tariff Acts of Congress for the protection of the manufacturers of the North and East unconstitutional; asserted that they ought to be resisted; and invited other States of the South to unite with South Carolina in opposing the execution of those acts within their respective limits.

At that period Andrew Jackson and Mr. Calhoun were personal and political friends. But soon the latter became dissatisfied with the administration of the former, and was gradually alienated from him. The President did not condemn the high tariff, as Mr. Calhoun believed it his duty to do; and from the year 1831 Mr. Calhoun took the position of an open enemy to his policy and his person. One cause of the hostility which henceforth ex-



isted between these remarkable men, was the fact, that at that period General Jackson discovered that Mr. Calhoun had, while a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, advised that he should be reprimanded for his conduct during the Seminole war, in putting Arbuthnot and Armbruster to death. Thenceforth there was a bitter and implacable hostility between them, which endured without abatement till the end of their lives.

Mr. Calhoun continued his active agency in preparing the people of South Carolina for forcible resistance to the Federal Government, and in preparing the way for practical Nullification. In August, 1832, he addressed a memorial of great length and marked ability to James Hamilton, at that time Governor of South Carolina, presenting all the arguments which could be devised in favor of that policy. In this production, which the people of South Carolina regarded as their *Magna Charta*, he assumed and defended the position that the Federal Constitution was a mere compact, which had been made and ratified by the several states which had adopted it, and that they had done so in their capacity as sovereign and independent governments. He further contended, that in adopting the Federal Constitution, the several States regarded the General Government merely as their agent in the exercise of certain powers and functions which they had delegated to that government, of the extent and nature of which the states themselves were, and always must remain, the final and supreme judges. He concluded by endeavoring to prove, that when the General Government abused the powers thus delegated to it by the several States, in the opinion of all or any of them, the State or States so regarding it, possessed the right to resist and nullify the illegal acts

performed by the Federal Government, each within its own particular limits.

These positions Mr. Calhoun defended with great vigor of thought and force of reasoning. His views were, however, in opposition to those of Washington, Hamilton, and nearly all the founders of the Federal Government. They were condemned by the whole Whig party throughout the nation; and even the majority of the Democratic party throughout the South, with the exception of South Carolina, withheld their approval of them.

The results produced by the existence and operation of a high tariff were found to be most beneficial. The surplus of the revenue constantly increased. The public debt was rapidly melting away from the ample resources furnished by the duties on imports. President Jackson stated, in his annual message of December, 1831, that soon the public debt would by this process be entirely liquidated; and recommended that, inasmuch as so high a tariff would then be no longer necessary, it should be afterward reduced. Accordingly the act of 1832 was passed by Congress, which was declared by its supporters to be the *ultimatum*, the permanent proportion, of imposts which ought to exist and be retained in the country.

But this wise policy did not satisfy Mr. Calhoun and his confederates. He and they insisted that if the public debt had been liquidated by the public revenue, then there was no longer a necessity for any tariff whatever; and that the reduced tariff just adopted was entirely too high to remain as the permanent law of the land, after the exigencies of the nation and of the government had been met.

As no one except the people and representatives of South Carolina could discover the force or the conclu-

siveness of this reasoning, they stood alone in the advocacy of their position. The rest of the nation contended and believed that the machinery of the National Government involved other expenses, and required other resources, beside those connected with the public debt; and consequently they insisted that there should still remain a reasonable tariff, which might furnish a sufficient revenue to meet other inevitable expenditures. They therefore refused to adopt the free trade policy, as contended for by the people and the politicians of South Carolina.

This determination was the signal for an immediate resort to desperate measures by the disaffected. The representatives in Congress from South Carolina issued an address to the people of that State, informing them that the Federal Government had at last adopted the protective system as its permanent and unalterable policy; asserting that no hope of future relief could be entertained from that source, and urging them to adopt such measures as would effectually remedy the evil. An election for members of the State Legislature was about to take place, and the issue was at once formed for or against Nullification, among the candidates voted for. A violent contest ensued. Although the great majority of the electors in the State were in favor of the policy of Mr. Calhoun, there was another party in existence, small, but highly respectable, and very determined, headed by the distinguished statesman Joel R. Poinsett, who supported the measures of the General Government. But their efforts in behalf of law and order were unavailing, and the struggle terminated in the election of a large majority of Nullifiers to the Legislature.

That body assembled in October, 1832, and chose delegates to a State Convention, which met at Columbia



on the 19th of November. On the 24th of the month, the Convention passed the famous ordinance of Nullification. That ordinance declared the acts of Congress of 1828 and 1832 to be wholly null and void within the limits of the State of South Carolina. It forbade any appeal to be made to the Supreme Court of the United States in any case involving the validity of the ordinance itself. It prohibited the authorities of the State of South Carolina, or of the Federal Government, from executing the acts of Congress aforesaid within the state, from and after the first of February, 1833; and it declared that any attempt made by the Federal Government to enforce the revenue laws otherwise than through the civil tribunals, which would of course be abortive, would be an outrage so great as to "*justify the State in seceding from the Union, and in establishing a separate and independent Government.*" The Legislature of South Carolina was still in session, and that body immediately passed resolutions which approved of this ordinance, and gave it greater effect. It did more. It ordered the State to be placed in a position of defence; it organized, armed, and equipped the number of troops which were deemed necessary to resist the General Government in its efforts to enforce the collection of the revenue; and it encouraged the citizens to maintain their position and to defend their invaded rights until the last extremity.

As soon as the action of the Nullifiers of South Carolina became known to the inflexible hero and patriot who then sat in the chief executive chair of the nation, he took the most vigorous measures to crush them. He issued a proclamation declaring the ordinance of the State Convention treasonable, and subversive of the Federal Constitution; he announced his determination to enforce the collection of the national revenue at

all hazards ; and he cautioned the people of the State of South Carolina against the ruinous policy which they were tempted to adopt. This proclamation was answered by another from Mr. Hayne, at that time Governor of the State, in which the policy of Nullification was justified. At the same time the latter summoned twelve thousand volunteers to take arms in opposition to the Federal troops.

During the progress of these events, Mr. Calhoun had remained in South Carolina, and had been the prime mover in the rebellion. In December, 1832, he was chosen to succeed Mr. Hayne in the United States Senate, and to defend the conduct of his native State in the National Legislature. At that moment President Jackson was undecided whether it were not his duty to arrest Mr. Calhoun before he reached Washington, on the charge of treason ; and the general impression was, that such an event would take place. Beyond the limits of South Carolina Mr. Calhoun was generally regarded with distrust, sometimes with abhorrence, as being in heart a traitor to the Government ; and on his way to Washington, he was repeatedly assailed by the clamors and insults of the indignant people. But he was at that time Vice President of the United States, and he remained invested with that office until he took his seat in the Senate. That fact and other prudent considerations, induced Jackson to refrain from the extreme measure which he had once contemplated. But it is worthy of remark, that the stern hero of New Orleans afterward bitterly regretted his lenity on this occasion, and continued to do so during the remainder of his life.

Shortly after Mr. Calhoun took his seat in the Senate, he introduced a resolution requesting the President of the United States to lay before that body the documents

connected with the Nullification ordinance, certified copies of which had been transmitted to him by Governor Hayne. Immediately, and before his request could be complied with, General Jackson addressed a message to the Senate bearing date January 16th, 1833, in which he condemned the conduct of South Carolina in reference to the question of Nullification. This message, and all the documents having reference to the matter, were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary for consideration. Daniel Webster was a prominent member of this Committee, and exerted himself to procure the adoption of such a report as should effectually crush the scorpion head of Nullification. Under his guidance the Committee reported the famous Force Bill, which invested the President with additional powers in reference to the matter, and extended and increased the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States in cases arising under the revenue laws. The acknowledged purpose of this bill was to enable and encourage the President to put down Nullification by force of arms.

At this crisis Mr. Calhoun came forward, and enacted the most distinguished and important achievement of his life. He addressed the Senate, and proposed that, before the discussion of the provisions of this bill should be commenced, the important abstract questions of constitutional law, which were involved in the issue, should be debated; and in order to bring about that result, he introduced a number of resolutions, which included the topics at issue. These resolutions contained the substance and the germ of the whole policy of Southern resistance to the Federal Government, and they have been since, and still remain, the creed and catechism of Secession politicians. The overwhelming majority which was arrayed against Mr. Calhoun in the Senate, soon laid those resolu-



tions upon the table; and the bill reported by the Committee was then taken up for consideration. A memorable debate ensued. Mr. Calhoun delivered on this occasion his ablest effort, known as his "speech against the Force Bill." But his logic and eloquence were useless. The bill passed, after one of the most magnificent displays of forensic power and genius ever witnessed in that hall, which has been the arena of so many masterly and consummate orators. The bill became a law on the 28th of February, 1833.

Immediately afterward, General Jackson adopted the most vigorous measures to crush the power and the life of the hydra of Nullification. He dispatched General Scott with a body of troops to Charleston. Forts Sumter and Moultrie, which have been since invested with an unfortunate celebrity, were strongly garrisoned. When the rebels discovered that they had no time-serving, imbecile, pusillanimous "*Public Functionary*" to deal with; when they saw that, if they persisted in resisting the processes and the writs of the Federal Government, Charleston would be bombarded, and they would feel the full weight of the just indignation of the Government, they retraced their steps, their ardor died out, they approved of more prudent measures; and eventually the same State Convention which had adopted the infamous Ordinance of Nullification repealed it, and ceased their opposition to the authority of the United States.

Such was the termination of the first attempt of the politicians of South Carolina to resist the execution of the laws, and to destroy the Unity of the National Government. Nor can we forbear here to indulge the reflection that if, on the more recent outbreak of rebellion which has occurred in that State, so thoroughly infected with treason, a Chief Executive officer, possessing the

same energy, sagacity, and patriotism, had occupied the highest seat of power, measures of the same effective nature would have been adopted, which would have speedily led to the accomplishment of the same glorious and felicitous results. The seed, however, which Calhoun and his associates sowed, fell into productive soil, took deep root, sprang up, and brought forth deadly and noxious fruit, some sixty, some even a hundred fold. His memorable saying was not forgotten: "If you should ask me the word that I would wish to have engraven on my tombstone, I answer, it is NULLIFICATION."

II. The second cause which led to the Southern Rebellion was the contest, often characterized by extreme bitterness and malignity, which has been progressing during many years between the opposite portions of this Union in reference to the extension and restriction of *Slavery*, its perpetuity in those States in which it already existed, and its introduction into those new Territories which have been, and which might hereafter be, from time to time, organized by the Federal Government.

In March, 1830, John C. Calhoun declared, in the Senate of the United States, that he had believed from the first that "the agitation of the subject of Slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in the dissolution of the Union." His prediction was verified. The "agitation" of so important an institution can never be prevented or suspended, even on the part of prudent, moderate, and conservative statesmen, and hence the expedient of Disunion was at last resorted to. We will present a brief survey of the facts connected with the past history and discussion of this irrepressible subject in our country.

On the 22d of December, 1620, a Dutch trading vessel,

a slave ship, sailing directly from the coast of Africa, passed up James river, in Virginia, and landed twenty negroes, who were immediately sold to the chief inhabitants of Jamestown. They were the first slaves of African origin who ever existed on the American continent. The purchasers were English adventurers, aristocratic cavaliers, who, at home, had been accustomed to idleness and luxury, but having become reduced in wealth, had emigrated to the New World to improve their broken fortunes. To men of such habits and tastes the presence of such chattels as slaves, compelled to obey all their whims and minister to all their caprices, was a very acceptable and novel addition to their means of enjoyment. The example of this Dutch slave dealer, whose name has passed into an ignominious oblivion, was soon followed by others; and in a short time vessels, crowded with the manacled and helpless children of Africa, sailed into every port of the American continent, and freely sold their human cargoes to the inhabitants of every colony which had then been planted.

By this means, and by the natural increase of the negroes, slavery became gradually established in all the thirteen colonies. Immediately after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, and while the several States were still governed by the Articles of Confederation, Thomas Jefferson introduced a resolution into the Continental Congress to the effect that, after the year 1800, no slavery should exist in any of the Western Territories or on any soil not included within the established and ancient limits of the States themselves. This proposition was made in April, 1784. But it was overruled because, though sixteen delegates voted for it, and only seven against it, the Articles of Confederation required that the votes of *nine States* should be given in favor of any resolution, to

give it the validity of law. When the Federal Constitution was discussed, previous to its adoption, this subject was the most difficult with which the immortal sages and statesmen who composed that instrument were called upon to deal. Already had this institution become closely interwoven with all the customs, interests, and associations of the citizens of the Southern States; and whatever might be the abstract opinions which the people of those States entertained in reference to the subject of human liberty, and the equal rights of man, their personal feeling and their individual interests had become identified with negro bondage, as an essential feature of their social and political existence. All, therefore, that could be done by the advocates of the discontinuance of this institution was, to obtain the introduction of a clause in the amendments to the Constitution, somewhat ambiguous in its meaning, which enacted that "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

As this provision amounted to little or nothing in restricting the diffusion of slavery, when new Territories were occupied and settled in the South, and were afterward elevated to the dignity and invested with the prerogatives of sovereign States, slavery invariably went hand in hand with that process. Thus, when Kentucky was formed out of the limits of Virginia, when Tennessee was carved out of those of North Carolina, when Alabama and Mississippi were created from those of Georgia, this institution constituted a component element of their political and social existence. When first these regions were ceded to the Federal Government as Territories, it was with the express understanding, that Congress should not attempt by any law or statute to abolish slavery



within their boundaries; and they even stipulated, by an express condition, that when these Territories had acquired the requisite number of white inhabitants to entitle them to admission to the Union as States, they should be thus admitted with the institution of slavery, as it then already existed in them, fully recognized, allowed, and protected.

The sixth article of the compact made in 1787, between the United States and the people and States *west and northwest of the river Ohio*, prohibited the introduction of slavery in those immense regions. An attempt was made in January, 1807, in the American Congress, to suspend this article for ten years throughout the vast "Indiana Territory," of which General Harrison was then the Governor. It failed, and thus those States and Territories have ever since remained exempt from the presence and the incubus of negro slavery.

On three several occasions a desperate struggle occurred in Congress, in reference to the existence of slavery in the territory comprised within the State of Missouri. The first was in 1817, when she was admitted as a Territory. Then an effort was made to have a clause forbidding the existence of slavery in her limits inserted in her Constitution. After a long and angry debate that clause was expunged. The second contest occurred in 1819, when Missouri presented her claim to admission to the Union as a State. Henry Clay was then Speaker of the House, and the committee appointed by him to report on the subject, were all, with a single exception, representatives from the South. They reported in favor of the recognition of slavery in the Territory. Their recommendation, after another protracted and vigorous conflict, was supported by both Houses; and slavery was recognized by an express clause of the Constitution of

the State. The third combat on this subject occurred in 1820. It was called forth by an attempt of the pro-slavery advocates to amend the Constitution of the State, so as to prevent free negroes from entering and residing within the limits of Missouri; and asking the approval of Congress to the measure. On this occasion, after a lengthy discussion, Henry Clay, who may justly be termed the *Napoleon of Compromises*, came forward with his famous Missouri Compromise, as the best possible settlement of a difficulty which became apparently more complicated and more pernicious from hour to hour. He proposed, in the report of a committee of which he was the chairman, that a pledge should be required of the Legislature of Missouri, that the Constitution of that State should not be interpreted to authorize the passage of a law, by which any of the citizens of either of the states should be excluded from the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities to which they were anywhere entitled, under the Constitution of the United States. The meaning of this proposition was, that as negroes were then recognized by the Constitutions of several of the States, as citizens possessing certain rights; and as the Federal Constitution recognized the validity of those State Constitutions, therefore, the State of Missouri should not pass any law which deprived the free negroes residing within her limits of the rights which they might elsewhere have possessed.

The measure introduced and advocated by Mr. Clay, was eventually passed, and became the law of the land in February, 1821.

The Territory of Texas was originally a province belonging to the Vice-royalty of Mexico, while that State was yet a portion of the Spanish monarchy. After the deliverance of Mexico from Spanish power and tyranny,

Texas remained a part of the Mexican Republic. In 1835 her inhabitants revolted from the authority of that Republic, and established an independent government. In 1836 the decisive victory of San Jacinto secured the perpetuity of their liberties, by delivering the Texans from the authority of their former rulers. In 1844 the new Republic applied for admission to the Federal Union; and as slavery already existed within her limits, that difficult and eternally obtrusive theme became a prominent element of the discussions which ensued in consequence of her application. Texas was finally admitted to the Union in 1845, with a clause in her Constitution fully recognizing the existence of slavery within her borders.

The war with Mexico, whose government had protested against the admission of Texas, immediately followed. The armies of the United States, under the generalship of the gallant Scott and Taylor, marched into the territory of the enemy, and carried the Stars and Stripes in triumph from one field of glory to another, until they were unfurled, and waved in majestic splendor, from the summit of the towers and spires of the city of Montezuma. During the progress of this memorable war, the Federal Congress voted liberal supplies to our armies in Mexico; but in August, 1846, when President Polk demanded an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars for immediate use, and two millions more for subsequent exigencies, a number of the representatives from the North determined to embrace the opportunity to place some restriction, as the price of their votes, upon the extension of slavery in the territory which had been the cause of the war.

Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, was chosen as the representative of this faction; and he offered in the

House his famous proposition, known as the *Wilmot Proviso*. That Proviso set forth: "That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted." This proposition, after being adopted by the House, was rejected by the Senate. It was subsequently revived in various forms, and under different disguises. Meanwhile the war progressed to a glorious conclusion, and other topics of grave and absorbing interest occupied the attention of Congress and the nation. But the peculiar circumstances under which the Wilmot Proviso happened to have been originally proposed, gave it a prominence in the annals of American political affairs, to which it was not entitled by any inherent importance or merit of its own.

After the triumphant termination of the war with Mexico, a grateful nation elevated Zachary Taylor to the Presidential chair. It became the duty of the Congress which immediately afterward convened, to determine whether or not slavery should be admitted into the newly acquired territories of California and New Mexico. This topic elicited, as was usually the case, a discussion of extreme duration and violence. At length, in January, 1850, Henry Clay proposed his resolutions in the Senate known as the Compromise of 1850.

The most important propositions contained in this remarkable document were these: That it was inexpedient for Congress to provide by law, either for the introduction of slavery into, or for its exclusion from, any of



the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico; that territorial governments should be provided by Congress for all those new acquisitions, without adopting any provision whatever respecting slavery; that it was inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, as long as slavery existed in Maryland; that, however, it *was* expedient to prohibit, within the District, the sale of slaves which should be brought into it from other states, either for the purpose of being sold in it, or of being transported through it to slave markets elsewhere. In support of this compromise Mr. Clay exhausted, for the last time, all the resources of his marvelous and matchless eloquence;—an eloquence whose persuasive power and pathos the heavy burden of years had been unable to diminish or enfeeble. The venerable statesman presented in the Senate of the United States, on that occasion, one of the sublimest spectacles ever exhibited by pure patriotism, by exalted genius, and by dauntless heroism, in the annals of mankind. He believed that the safety and perpetuity of the Federal Union, to whose power and glory he had himself contributed so much and so long, depended upon the adoption of the measures which he then proposed; and he acted and spoke accordingly.

One of the most memorable debates which ever occurred in the National Legislature ensued, in the discussion of these propositions. Eminent senators delivered some of their most elaborate and masterly arguments. Among these who opposed them with great zeal, was Jefferson Davis, then honored as the Senator from Mississippi. During the long period of two months, the subject occupied the exclusive attention of Congress. Mr. Clay's propositions gradually became modified by so many amendments, mutilations, and *addenda*, that they were finally termed, with considerable show of propriety,

the Omnibus Bill. As the Omnibus Bill, they were eventually passed by both Houses; but when thus adopted, they retained very little of the spirit and of the purposes which characterized them, when they first proceeded from the gifted mind and the patriotic heart of the Sage of Ashland. Another important feature of this act, was the adoption of a more efficient Fugitive Slave Law, by which the slave property of the South was protected still more zealously and efficiently than before.

All these struggles, to which the institution of slavery had thus far given rise, were mere impalpable conflicts of words. A time now approached, in the history of this controversy, when it assumed mere tragical and desperate aspects, and became invested with more formidable and repulsive features.

In the session of Congress of 1852-3, Stephen A. Douglas introduced a bill for the purpose of organizing the Territory of Nebraska out of the region lying immediately west of Missouri. It is evident that this Territory was included within the limits of that tract from which slavery was forever to be excluded, and to which exclusion the Southern States had themselves consented, by the terms of the Missouri Compromise, in order that they might obtain the admission of Missouri as a slave state. In 1852 the National Conventions both of the Whig and the Democratic parties indorsed and accepted the Compromise of 1850, which *implied* that the Territory of Nebraska should not be made a slave region. In January, 1854, Mr. Douglas reported a bill for the purpose of organizing the Territory of Nebraska, in which a clause was introduced, which declared that the Missouri restriction on slavery in that Territory *was inoperative and void*. In May, 1854, this bill passed both Houses of Congress, was signed by the President,

and became a law. During the progress of the discussion, however, the bill had been variously modified; and when finally adopted, it contained the following important provision: that it was the true meaning and intent of the act of 1850, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; "but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to regulate their own domestic institution in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States;" and that such a policy of non-intervention, neither protecting, establishing, prohibiting, nor abolishing slavery within the Nebraska Territory, should remain a fundamental principle in its Constitution.

Subsequent to the passage of this law, and expressly covered by its provisions, the Territory of Kansas was organized. It unquestionably left the people, that is, those who were the *lawful* citizens of both Territories, at liberty to determine for themselves whether or not slavery should exist in future within their limits. It devolved the important duty of deciding the matter upon the legal authorities of each Territory, chosen in a legitimate manner, and expressing their will in a constitutional way. Then the great struggle began in regard to the ultimate decision of the people respecting the existence of slavery in future among them; and then were enacted all those horrors and outrages which have rendered the annals of Kansas a dark and repulsive spot on the pages of American history.

After the organization of the Territory, successive Governors, appointed by the President, administered its affairs with different degrees of integrity and success, some of them being honest, sober, and capable men; others being knavish, drunken, and imbecile. The legal inhabitants of Kansas began to assemble in various

portions of the Territory, to express their opinions in public meetings, to arrange their plans of political action, and to perform other duties which devolved on them as good citizens. Prominent among these duties, in the progress of time, were the adoption of a State Constitution, and the formation of a State Government. The paramount question to be decided by them still was, whether slavery should be recognized and permitted as a future element in the laws and the social condition of the community. Conventions were held at Lawrence, at Topeka, and elsewhere. The convention which sat at Topeka in September, 1855, possessed all the sanctions and forms of law in its favor, which were necessary to invest its acts with a legitimate and binding authority. It was summoned by an express proclamation of the Governor. It was attended by all the executive officers of the Territory, by the Clerk of the Supreme Court, and by the Attorney General. Its members were chosen in a legal manner, and they represented the lawful inhabitants of the Territory. They passed a resolution providing for the better government and organization of the State, designated the proper qualification of voters, and appointed the times and places where these voters should assemble to determine whether slavery should in future exist within their limits.

The large majority of the inhabitants of Kansas were ardently opposed to slavery. The Territory had long been the scene execrable acts of violence and disorder which were perpetrated chiefly by that class of depraved and irresponsible persons who will always constitute a part of the inhabitants of any new territory. But at the period which now arrived, these outrages assumed a more terrible form, and events occurred in that remote and primitive region, which make the citizens of a well



ordered and a prosperous social state shudder with horror. This contest also assumed importance in another respect. Kansas became representative ground, and the struggle a representative one between the whole North and South—between the partisans of slavery and the advocates of freedom *throughout the entire nation*.

As the question whether Kansas should thenceforth be a free State was to be determined at the ballot-box, the ballot-box became the centre around which many of these violent outrages clustered. The majority of the opponents of the freedom of Kansas were to be found among the desperate and savage adventurers who lived in Missouri, in the vicinity of the Kansas border. Immense crowds of these ruffians, infuriated by political rancor, and still more by excess in intoxicating drinks, rode over to the places appointed for holding the elections; and sometimes by threats, sometimes by actual violence, defeated the purposes of the law, and interfered with, and often entirely suppressed, the rights of the citizens at the ballot box.

The Convention which was held at Topeka, in Kansas, adopted a Free State Constitution for the future government of the Territory. That Constitution was afterward presented in due form to Congress for their approval, by Commissioners appointed for that purpose. In the House the document was referred to the Committee on Territories; a majority of whom reported in favor of the admission of Kansas, under its provisions, as a free State. A desperate contest then ensued between the advocates of slavery and its opponents, in which Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, afterward the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, especially distinguished himself. At length, however, on the 3d of July, 1856, the final vote was taken upon the subject and the bill passed;

thus receiving the sanction of law, so far as the approval of that particular department of the National Legislature was concerned.

In this review of the causes which led to the Southern Rebellion, it is proper that a brief notice be taken of the famous "Dred Scott case," by which the advocates of the interests of slaveholders succeeded in obtaining from a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States a decision which threw the weight and the influence of that august tribunal in favor of pro-slavery interests and pretensions. The Court, however, were not unanimous in their views; two of the Justices, equal in profound legal learning to any of their associates—McLain and Curtis—having dissented from the opinion of the majority. Two points were decided in that case. The first was, in substance, that no negro could bring a suit in the United States Courts. The second was, that Congress possessed no right to prohibit slavery in the Territories. The first decision was equivalent to the assertion that no negro, imported as a slave from Africa, nor any descendant of such slave, could ever be regarded as a citizen of the United States, in the meaning of that term as it is used in the Federal Constitution; and that consequently no negro could possess any absolute rights in the United States. The second point was equivalent to a declaration that no power or authority existed in the country, neither in Congress nor in a Territorial Government, which was competent to exclude slavery from any of the Territories of the United States.

This decision, so monstrous and anomalous in its nature, was hailed by the South as a grand and glorious victory. The rest of the nation regarded it with repugnance and contempt; and although no higher judicial tribunal existed which could reverse it in legal form, it

was condemned and overruled by that tribunal which is paramount, in a republic, to every other source of authority—by the loud and overwhelming thunder-tone of *Public Opinion*.

The events which had occurred in Kansas during the administration of Mr. Pierce, and the mysterious disappearance of the Whig party, once so powerful and respectable in the arena of American politics, led to the sudden rise of a new and formidable political organization, which took the not inappropriate name of the Republican party. It owed its birth, in reality, to the apprehensions created by the continual and insatiable aggressions of the Slave Power in the United States, which seemed determined, by every expedient which could possibly be rendered available for that purpose, so to mould and control the Federal Government, in all its various branches, legislative, judicial, and executive, as to convert it into the mere tool of a slave propagandism. The new party was composed of old Whigs, moderate anti-slavery men, some native Americans, and some Democrats, who, having become convinced that the old Democratic party had entirely betrayed and ignored its primitive principles, felt themselves fully justified in abandoning it. In this new political creation, which thus suddenly emerged into vigorous life, was found a large and imposing conglomeration of the talent, patriotism, wealth, and personal respectability of the nation; and the South beheld with mingled astonishment, aversion, and fear, the colossal proportions and dauntless spirit of the young and rising Hercules.

The cardinal doctrine of the Republican party was, *not* to interfere with the institution of slavery as it already existed, either in the slave States or even in the slave Territories. Its fundamental principles and purpose, as

set forth first in the Philadelphia platform, under which Mr. Fremont was nominated, and afterward in the Chicago platform, under which Mr. Lincoln was nominated, were simply to prevent, by legitimate and constitutional means, the extension of slavery in those territories which were as yet untainted by its presence and its power. On the 18th of June, 1856, the National Convention of the Republican party, having convened in Philadelphia, nominated Mr. Fremont as their candidate for the presidency; and then the struggle commenced. Now, for the first time, were the great issues connected with slavery-extension in the territories placed before the nation in such a form, that the voice of the whole people could be heard upon them without the mixture of fanatical zeal or ultra partizanship. The contest was, however, one of the most violent which had ever taken place in any free government, in connection with the strict observance of law and order. In its desperate throes with the new organization, the ancient Democratic party was shaken to its centre. It had selected as its candidate for the presidency, one of the most crafty and experienced of its politicians. James Buchanan guided his confederates through the storm, with that consummate skill which might have been expected from a man whose whole life had been spent in threading the mazes and in practicing the intrigues of political contests; and who had always acquitted himself with ability, and with more than an ordinary share of success. The result of the contest was favorable to his aspirations. Never before had so young a party made so magnificent a display of organization and strength as did the Republican on this occasion; but Mr. Buchanan was elected President by an inconsiderable majority.

In March, 1857, the new President entered upon an



administration which deserves, in some respects, to be regarded as the most ignominious which has occurred in the annals of the Federal Government. His election, indeed, postponed the act of Secession on the part of the South for a limited period; for there is sufficient proof to satisfy every impartial mind, that the leading politicians of the South had already determined in 1856, that, if the Republican candidate had then been chosen, the act which disgraced the year 1861, would have been anticipated in the year 1857. The success of the Democratic party, however, deprived them both of the excuse and of the motive for immediate secession. The propitious hour decisive of the destinies of a new republic had not yet arrived. Another chief magistrate had been elected, who, they thought, would certainly equal, possibly he might even excel, all his predecessors in subserviency to Southern arrogance and Southern interests. This hope was more than realized by the result.

Nevertheless, the grand enterprise of Secession remained constantly uppermost in the minds of the very same men who afterward achieved it. The Southern Convention which met at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1858, deliberately contemplated the ultimate and inevitable purpose of breaking up the Union into fragments. Already at that period a man of superior talents, of daring spirit, and of perverted ambition, had devoted himself to the attainment of the bad eminence of being regarded as the most active, resolute, and indefatigable of the foes of the Union. William L. Yancey was a prominent member of that Convention, and all the resources of his powerful eloquence were employed to give perfect form and vigorous spirit to the enterprise of Secession. In order to prepare the way for the attainment of ultimate success, he announced the fact that the

South were entitled, and would thenceforth assert their right, to what he termed Congressional Protection to Slavery in the Territories; and that doctrine was announced as being a fundamental part of the future issue in party politics. Soon this idea was promulgated by those journals in the South which were devoted to Secession. In September, 1858, the New Orleans *Delta* proclaimed this doctrine as being a leading element of future agitation. The Richmond *Enquirer*, then under the control of Henry A. Wise, took the same position. But these demagogues never expected to achieve so disgraceful a result, as to render the Federal Government subservient to that measure. Their real purpose was to make the demand in Congress, knowing that it would be rejected; thus to create a fresh hostility between the North and the South, and by the assistance of that hostility to commence the agitation of Secession with the greater probabilities of success.

The disunion chiefs took time by the forelock, and provided for distant emergencies. In September, 1858, Jefferson Davis alluded in a speech delivered at Jackson, Mississippi, to the possibility of the election of a Republican President, and made the following declaration: "If an abolitionist be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question whether you will permit the Government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies. Without pausing for an answer, I will state my own position to be, that such a result would be a species of revolution, by which the purposes of the Government would be destroyed, and the observance of its mere forms entitled to no respect. In that event, in such manner as should be most expedient, I should deem it your duty to provide for your safety outside of the Union, from those who have already

shown the will, and would have acquired the power, to deprive you of your birthright, and reduce you to worse than the colonial dependence of your fathers." This sentiment, uttered in 1858, increased in intensity and strength until it was realized in 1861. As the administration of Mr. Buchanan progressed, it became evident that he regarded the interests and the demands of the South with a partial eye. Probably unaware of the desperate extremes to which their leaders were capable of going, and unable to penetrate the ultimate purpose of their designs, he aided them whenever it lay in his power so to do.

One important act of this description was the President's agency in reference to the Lecompton Constitution. The Senate not having approved of the instrument which had been adopted by the Topeka Convention, excluding slavery from Kansas, a subtle scheme was contrived by Southern representatives for the purpose of forcing Kansas into the Union as a slave State, from a knowledge of which scheme even the Governor and Secretary of the Territory were carefully excluded. A new Constitution was prepared at Washington, under the auspices of the Administration, the ultimate effect of which was to secure the admission of slavery into the future State. A convention was summoned to meet at Lecompton, for the express purpose of approving and adopting that Constitution;—at the same time, the provision made to exclude the Free State men from an equal share of influence at the ballot-box; the use of United States troops to overawe citizens in the exercise of their legitimate rights; and other arbitrary acts, clearly demonstrated the perverted feelings which animated the Chief Executive. When infamous frauds were committed at the ballot-box in Kansas, and returns of the

elections were made to the Federal Government, which were known and demonstrated to have been illegal, Mr. Buchanan refused to go behind those returns, and insisted on receiving the voice of one fifth of the population of the Territory as the fairly uttered sentiment of the legal majority. Fortunately there was a formidable power in the legislative department of the Government, which was able to overrule the perversity of the Executive. The result was, that the people of Kansas escaped the misfortune of having an institution forced upon them which was repugnant to their feelings, to their principles, and to their interests. Kansas was eventually admitted to the Union as a free State, in spite of the opposition of the Southern politicians, and in spite of the compliant artifices of the President. This event was another heavy grievance to the South; and it confirmed the foregone conclusion of their leaders in favor of Secession.

The politicians and statesmen of the South were now convinced, from various indications, that the probabilities in favor of the success of the candidate of the Republican party in 1860 were overwhelming. They accordingly commenced to take the preliminary steps which were necessary to accomplish their favorite project. Unfortunately for the Union, the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan was infested with men unworthy of their high trust. In the formation of that Cabinet the South had, as usual, obtained an undue and exaggerated proportion. When the chief conspirators sounded Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War, they found him a willing and ready tool. He prostituted all the influence and resources of his office to their designs. Quietly and gradually, so as not to excite public suspicion, an immense number of muskets belonging to the Federal Government, were transported by that traitor to places in the Southern



States, where they could be of no possible service in time of peace, but would be ready at hand in the event of war. During the year 1860, a hundred and twenty-five thousand stand of arms were sent southward from the armory at Springfield alone. During that year, not a single musket was sent to any fort or arsenal in the Northern or Western States. Twenty thousand muskets were also sold to the South at a merely nominal price.

Thus munitions of war were plundered from their rightful owners, and placed in the hands of the secret enemies of the Government, for the express and anticipated purpose of destroying it; and this was done by one who himself held a distinguished post in that Government, and had sworn to support the Federal Constitution. Mr. Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, assisted the infamous enterprise, as far as the functions of his office permitted him. Mr. Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, was also a *particeps criminis*. A large proportion of the Cabinet being in the secret service of the enemies of the Union, they commenced their treasonable purposes with decisive advantages in their favor. It is not probable, however, that Mr. Buchanan suspected, much less that he approved of, the designs of these traitors. No reasonable *motive* can be assigned, or imagined, which could have induced him so to do. He had attained the highest honor known to exist in any free government. He had occupied the seat which had been adorned by the genius and virtues of Washington, Jefferson, and Adams; and no Southern Confederacy, however successful and powerful it might become, could give him any glory or profit as great or greater than that which he had already attained. The loftiest aspirations of his ambition had been realized. He had likewise gratified some of the less noble instincts of his nature; for he had rewarded his

worst enemies, and had punished his best friends, to a monstrous and marvelous extent. Why should he desire to see the Union broken into fragments, and his own name descend to posterity surrounded with the execrable distinction of having contributed to destroy that Government which, while it had accomplished many better and more commendable things, had also rendered him so illustrious and distinguished? The supposition is extremely improbable and absurd.

The Presidential campaign of 1860 presented several very remarkable features. It was a four-sided conflict, in which almost every shade of political opinion was represented by a separate candidate for the Presidency. The old Democratic party nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for that office; against whom the friends of Stephen A. Douglas pitted that talented and ambitious statesman. An organization which took the name of the Union Party, selected John Bell of Tennessee as their champion; while the great Republican party, buoyant with confidence and hope, nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois as their standard-bearer. It cannot be denied that the ultra pro-slavery faction in the South, found greater sympathy with their own views in the sentiments and policy of Mr. Breckinridge, than in those of any other candidate; and had he been chosen, it is probable, perhaps it is certain, that, as in the case of Mr. Buchanan's election, the act of Secession would have been postponed for a brief period.\*

But such was not destined to be the result. The Re-

\* The division of the Democratic party by the friends of Mr. Douglas, and his nomination to the Presidency, thereby insuring the election of Mr. Lincoln, may be regarded as having exerted a powerful influence, though innocently and indirectly, in precipitating the outbreak of this pre-destined Rebellion.

publican party entered into the struggle with the resolute determination to leave no fair means untried to attain success. In vain was it urged against them that they were a sectional party, that they were an abolition party, that they were a disunion party. To the first charge they answered that, to call them sectional, was merely a *petitio principii*; because it yet remained to be demonstrated at the ballot-box, whether they were sectional: if they elected their candidate by a constitutional majority, they could not be a sectional party, but the party of the majority of the whole nation. To the second charge, that they were an abolition party, they answered by a direct traverse or denial; and they supported that denial by the assertion that no abolition sentiment could be found in the Philadelphia or the Chicago platform, and that no representative man of the party, who was authorized to speak for them, was, or could be called, an Abolitionist. Because indeed a few Abolitionists chose to vote for their candidate, that fact did not make the whole party Abolitionists, any more than, because some Freemasons voted for him, that did not make the whole party *Masonic*. To the third charge, that they favored disunion, they replied that they supported the Constitution and the laws; that they would never secede from the Union; that in fact they would fight for it to the last extremity; that if they gained the control of the administration, it should only be by constitutional means; and that they would then administer it only in accordance with the settled and lawful machinery of the Government.

The event proved that the greater portion of the nation was with the Republican party. Mr. Lincoln was elected by a decisive majority. He was a person every way worthy of the high position to which he was

elevated. He was a man of the people; the architect of his own fortune; accustomed to hardship, to vicissitude, to triumph; familiar with the laws and Constitution of his country; eminent as a prudent and practical statesman; with a character not only free from every stain, but adorned by many great and rare virtues. His election to the Presidency at once capped the climax of that long train of unspeakable wrongs and outrages which the chivalrous South had suffered with such exemplary patience during so many years, from the Northern portion of the Union! There was an extreme and an excess of injury, however, which transcended the limits of even Southern patriotism and endurance, and that extreme had at last been perpetrated!

III. We stated at the beginning, that the *third* cause which led to the Southern Rebellion, was the assertion of the supremacy of State Rights in opposition to the policy of Federal Centralization. Before concluding this Introduction, it may be proper to dwell briefly on that point.

The seceding States affirmed their privilege to withdraw from the Union on the ground that each individual State possesses the right to take back and recall from the National Government those powers which it delegated to it when the Union was formed, thus resuming its own isolated position and sovereign functions; and that each State possesses this right, separately, at any time, when it may think itself aggrieved. Never was a greater absurdity uttered. If indeed the separate States possessed any such right, then each State would in reality be paramount to the Federal Government, and the idea of Federal consolidation becomes an impalpable phantom and a visionary myth. But that no State which once formed a part of this Union possesses, or can possibly



possess, any such prerogative, is evident from the following considerations:

The Federal Government was established, not by the States as such, individually, but by *the people of the whole collection of States*. The Constitution was framed and adopted by those who expressly called themselves "The People." Therefore it is the people of the entire Union only who possess the right to dissolve the Federal Government, if, in any case, they feel disposed, for good and sufficient reasons, so to do. This cardinal doctrine was plainly acknowledged by the very men who adopted the Federal Constitution. Among other declarations of a similar character, we may cite the language of Virginia, uttered when she gave her adhesion to the General Government. She then declared that "the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the *people* of the United States, may be resumed by *them*, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression." In this statement no allusion is made to the reserved and sovereign right of the individual States to withdraw. When the people of the seceding States became integral portions of the Federal Government, they bound themselves, as a part of the grand aggregate of the people, to support it, unless, *as a grand aggregate*, they should become convinced that their interests would be promoted by its dissolution.

The Federal Government was established on this basis, not only for those who framed it, but with the express understanding and covenant that its provisions should benefit and should bind with equal force those who came after them. The makers of it declared that they established it "for themselves and their posterity." Whatever obligation, therefore, bound the party of the first part attached inevitably to the party of the second part. Both live

under the same conditions, and are controlled by the same duties. If the separate States which established the National Government could not *as States* secede, neither could their descendants or legal representatives secede; for the latter could inherit and possess no prerogatives which the former did not possess. That those who framed the Constitution never intended that any individual State as such should claim the right to withdraw from the Union is evident from the significant fact that they made no provision in the Constitution itself for such a process. There is no clause in that instrument which designates the way in which a *State* shall secede. If those who framed the Federal Government intended that either themselves or their descendants should possess the right, as separate States, to withdraw, they would undoubtedly have provided for the exercise of so important and so fundamental a function.

Those who established the Federal Government expressly condemned this doctrine of State supremacy. They say, "This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution or laws of a State to the contrary notwithstanding." No assertion could possibly be plainer. This clause declares in substance that the people who established the Federal Government organized it for themselves and for their posterity; that they went into the Union for the purpose of forming component parts of one grand organic political structure, intended for permanent and perpetual duration; and they teach that, should any State undertake to pass laws, or even to adopt a Constitution, which shall in any way conflict with the provisions already contained in the Federal Constitution, and in opposition to this purpose, they shall be null and void. Thus, therefore, if any State as a State, or the people of a single State, shall pass

a law in favor of Secession, and against the supremacy of the National Government, that law is *ipso facto* null and void. Now, those States which seceded approved of this clause in the Federal Constitution by their own representatives in Congress assembled at that time. It therefore binds them and their descendants forever; and the act of secession by any State is, by their own provisions and solemn stipulations, a fraud and a violation of the law which they themselves had sanctioned.

Those who asserted that the Southern States, or any other portion of the Union, have a right to secede on the ground that the Union is a *mere compact or partnership* between the several States, may be answered and condemned out of their own mouths. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the Federal Government is a mere partnership, what then? It necessarily follows that, in order to dissolve it legally and rightfully, the process must be accomplished precisely as all other partnerships are dissolved. According to the established principles of municipal law there are four processes by which a partnership may be dissolved. The first is by the death of one of the contracting parties. The second is by the expiration of the time for which the partnership was entered into. The third, where no definite period was specified, during which the partnership should continue, by the mutual consent of all the parties to the contract. The fourth is, where such general consent has not been obtained, by giving previous notice to all the parties in interest of an intention to withdraw, and by making a full and final settlement of all the accounts existing between those involved in the partnership.

Now, in the present instance, none of these essential conditions were complied with. No one of the parties who formed the alleged partnership of the Federal

Government was extinct. The period of time for which the alleged partnership was entered into had not expired, because no particular period had ever been specified. There remained, therefore, the third condition—the unanimous consent of all the parties to the compact. But that consent was not given; it was refused pertinaciously and clamorously by twenty-three partners out of thirty-four, and those twenty-three were the parties who had furnished nine tenths of the capital, who had borne three fourths of the expense of the concern, and who had always derived the least profit from its operations. Lastly, no previous legal notice had been given of an intention to withdraw; nor had any provision been made for a full and final adjustment of the accounts and interests existing between the various members of the alleged partnership. If then the Federal Government were a mere compact, where was the right of the rebel States to secede as they did? By their own showing, their act was illegal; it was a public and national fraud; it was a violation of law and order. It was as unjustifiable as their subsequent repudiation of the debts which they owed the citizens of the North, for almost every commodity which promotes the comfort, refinement, and civilization of human society.

The secession of one or more States from the Union, in this illegal manner, was unjustifiable in another point of view. When the people who established the Federal Government ceded certain sovereign powers to it, which they would otherwise have enjoyed and exercised under their separate State Governments, they did it with the implied pledge that they should receive in exchange therefor the benefits of a permanent nationality, which would result from the greater power and influence invested in and exercised by a General Government.



That nationality is destroyed, and the benefits once conferred by it are lost, by the secession of a single State. Therefore the State which thus secedes inflicts an incalculable injury on the rest of the community. What nation was more respected throughout the world, what flag was more honored as it floated majestically in every clime under heaven, than that of the "United States of North America?" There was a grandeur and glory associated with that name; bright recollections of the past, glowing visions of the future, inspiring thoughts of freedom, prosperity, enterprise, clustered around it, which invested it with deathless interest. Despots trembled in the recesses of their palaces, the people everywhere shouted with exultation and joy, when they heard it repeated. What was the cause of this? It was because the nation was then a unit. *L'union fait la force.* But now, because the nation was divided, its glory departed; it became a laughing stock to tyrants; and the friends of humanity and rational freedom in every land sighed with regret at the lamentable spectacle. This result produced by the act of Secession, which inflicted an incalculable injury upon those who were entitled to benefits. But the seceding States had also themselves enjoyed advantages from the same source in a preëminent degree; they were bound, therefore, both by gratitude and by interest, to preserve the Union intact and perpetual.

There was but one answer to these arguments, and that answer is an absurdity. It was asserted by the advocates of secession that, having no longer the majority in Congress, they could no longer mould the laws so as thereby to promote their own interests; and especially that they could not obtain the admission of new Territories into the Union with slavery expressly protected and allowed

in them. People from the free States, they said, could convey their various kinds of property, to those new Territories, and could have their titles thereto protected; but emigrants from the Southern States could not remove their slaves thither and retain possession of them; hence, it was high time to secede. The answer is: that the Southern States themselves assisted in establishing those very laws by which a certain definite majority rules in the National Legislature. They approved of those laws and obeyed them, as long as they operated to their own benefit and promoted their own aggrandizement. But if, in the course of time, the South lost the majority which the Constitution requires, and with that majority the controlling power, were they justified in repudiating the Government which they had helped to construct, and had sworn to support? On the contrary, they were obligated as men of honor, honesty and veracity, to accept the legitimate consequences of their own free and deliberate acts.

## CHAPTER I.

EFFECT OF MR. LINCOLN'S ELECTION IN THE SOUTH—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA—EXCITEMENT IN CHARLESTON—PRELIMINARY ACTS AND EVENTS—RESIGNATION OF FEDERAL OFFICERS—ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE STATE CONVENTION—OPPOSANTS OF SECESSION—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS—FEDERAL PROPERTY SEIZED IN CHARLESTON—CONVENTIONS SUMMONED IN GEORGIA AND ALABAMA—ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA—THE FIRST ACT OF SECESSION FROM THE UNION PASSED—A PATHETIC STATEMENT OF GRIEVANCES—SECESSION LOGIC—REFLECTIONS ON THE RESULT—POPULAR FEELINGS AT THIS TIME IN GEORGIA, ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI AND FLORIDA—LEVITY AND RECKLESSNESS OF THE SECESSION LEADERS.

ON the 6th of November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was chosen President of the United States, receiving the votes of seventeen States, or of one hundred and eighty electors out of three hundred and three. As soon as the unwelcome intelligence was conveyed by telegraphic flashes to South Carolina and Georgia, an ebullition of intense indignation and disgust instantly burst forth throughout the length and breadth of those ancient communities. How quickly and promptly they were prepared to assume the attitude of rebels against the Federal Government, was demonstrated by the significant fact, that, on the very day after the one on which the general election was held, resolutions were adopted by both branches of the Legislature of South Carolina, then assembled at Columbia, in favor of calling a convention of the people of the State to act upon the question of Secession, to re-organize the militia, and to prepare for

military operations. There seemed to be so settled a determination among the politicians and representatives of that State to assume the part which they afterward enacted, that very little preliminary deliberation was necessary to fit them for decisive measures.

Nor were the leaders of popular opinion in South Carolina much in advance of their confederates in the neighboring State of Georgia. On the 8th of November a large meeting of the prominent citizens of Savannah was held in that city, who adopted resolutions admitting the necessity and commending the policy of Secession. Great enthusiasm prevailed in the assembly, which passed without a dissenting voice, a series of resolutions which set forth, that the election of Lincoln and Hamlin was an outrage which "ought not and will not be submitted to;" that a petition be sent to the Legislature, then in session at Milledgeville, desiring them to co-operate with the Governor of the State in calling a convention of the people to determine on measures of redress; that the Legislature be requested to pass laws to meet the commercial crisis which impended, and organize and arm the forces of the Commonwealth; and that the senators and representatives of Georgia in the Federal Congress be duly informed of these transactions. The spirit of rebellion and disaffection spread with the utmost rapidity throughout the State. The ancient colonial flag of Georgia was unfurled, and flung to the breeze at Savannah; and an immense assemblage, convened at Augusta on the same day, commenced active operations by enrolling a corps of minute men.

Notwithstanding these spirited measures elsewhere, the city of Charleston seemed determined to achieve and to retain the first place in the inglorious enterprise of Secession. On the 8th of November the time-honored



Stars and Stripes, which had so long waved in graceful splendor over the Federal edifices in Charleston, were displaced; and the Palmetto flag substituted in their stead. The leading officers of the Federal Government, the District Attorney, the Collector of the Port, and the Deputy Collector, resigned their several positions, and duly notified Mr. Buchanan, who still occupied the White House, of that important and calamitous event. Their example was soon followed by less insignificant personages. On the 10th of the month Mr. Chesnut resigned his seat in Congress, as senator from South Carolina. The Legislature then adopted a resolution appointing the eighth of the ensuing January as the period for the election of delegates to the Convention, which was to determine the future action of the State in reference to Secession; and they designated the 15th of January as the date of its assembling.

These events were the natural and necessary preliminaries to the great revolutionary movement which was destined soon to follow. But it is worthy of remark, that at this early period of the process, the politicians of South Carolina, and the citizens of that State whom they controlled so despotically, either by fear, or by conviction, or by delusion, were unanimous in their support of the policy of rebellion; whereas no such unanimity existed at that time in the other Seceding States. Thus, on the 10th of November, a conservative meeting was held at Augusta, Georgia, composed of very respectable citizens, and presided over by the Mayor; which adopted resolutions setting forth that, living as the people did under a government of law and order, it was their duty, if they felt that they suffered from the infliction of grievances, to seek redress for them only by legal and constitutional means. But their words of prudence and

monition were like the voice of one calling in the wilderness; or rather like the sound of a gentle whisper amid the roar and thunder of a furious tempest sweeping over the deep, unheard and unheeded by those around them. The feeling in favor of Secession gradually became predominant throughout the States of South Carolina and Georgia; and it was confidently asserted, that before the period arrived for the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas, would have united their fortunes with those of the two leading States. The latter had already gone too far to recede; they felt that the confidence and respect of the Union were now lost to them; and they had but one course left, to persevere to the end in the ignominious career which they had begun.

At this stage of the Rebellion there was much doubt in the minds of several distinguished statesmen of Georgia as to the propriety and the policy of Secession. The most eminent of these was Alexander H. Stephens, who then held a high place in the estimation of the whole nation, for his undoubted talents, and his prudent, conservative disposition. At this period he opposed Secession with earnestness; and stated his solemn conviction, that the act would be injurious and pernicious to the South in every respect. He contended that the advocates of slavery would be able to protect their rights much more efficiently while *in* the Union than when *out* of it; and of the veracity and wisdom of this opinion there could be no possible doubt. But soon it became known that he had begun to waver in his position; and the hope was entertained by the Secessionists that he might be won over to their cause. Whether it was the bribe of the proffered office of the Vice Presidency of the new Confederacy about to be created, or whether it was the result of further and deeper research into the supposed

interests of the South; or whether he had become convinced that it was useless to resist the overwhelming tide which he saw rushing around him on every hand, we pretend not to say. But it was soon announced that the ablest statesman of Georgia, who had spoken so clearly, decisively and boldly in defence of the Union, had at length abandoned that honorable position, and had declared himself in doubt on the subject of Secession. This event greatly elated and encouraged those who had at one time despaired of his co-operation, and had feared his resistance to their enterprise.

Further acts of hostility to the General Government continued to be perpetrated at Charleston. On the 13th of November, a company of South Carolina troops took possession of the United States Arsenal near that city. At Columbia the Legislature passed a bill authorizing the organization of ten regiments, containing a thousand men each, for defence against the forces of the Federal Government, should the latter attempt to coerce the State into obedience to Federal authority. Soon afterward a public meeting was held in Institute Hall in Charleston, for the purpose of receiving the members of the State Legislature, who had returned from Columbia. An immense crowd assembled; resolutions were passed commending these functionaries for their conduct in reference to Secession; and addresses were delivered by leading citizens in favor of the policy of withdrawing from the Union. The enthusiasm became still more intense when it was announced that Messrs. Toombs, Iverson, Howell Cobb, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, had made known their determination to aid the cause of Disunion. Meetings were then held in all the districts and parishes of South Carolina, in which the justice and necessity of Secession were earnestly defended by popular speakers,

who thus impressed that doctrine more fully and deeply upon the minds of the people.

At this period the attention of the citizens of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, was chiefly occupied in the selection of delegates to the Conventions, who were to decide the action of those States in reference to the subject of Secession. The ablest men in the community were chosen for that important function—in South Carolina, Senators Hammond and Chesnut, Messrs. Rhett, Barnwell, Memminger, Keitt; in Georgia and Alabama, Messrs. William L. Yancey, T. H. Watts, Toombs and Cobb. The prevalent feeling among the great majority of those chosen by all these States was in favor of Secession; so that little doubt existed in the public mind in reference to the policy which they would ultimately adopt when they met and acted in an official capacity. Meanwhile, financial difficulties began to oppress the mercantile community. As soon as the other portions of the National Confederacy discovered the prevalence of the Secession sentiment, they lost confidence in the integrity and capability of those who advocated it. No longer were the drafts of the merchants of the seceding States honored at the North; no longer were their bank notes received as a circulating medium beyond their own borders, except at a heavy and ruinous discount. Already did the Secessionists commence to feel the injurious effects of the loss of public confidence. The banks of those States were constrained to suspend the payment of specie; and business of all descriptions became more depressed and stagnant than had ever been the case before. This was, however, but the beginning of evils, which did not in the least degree diminish the treasonable and suicidal zeal of the Secessionists.

The Convention who were selected by the people of



South Carolina to determine upon the question of Secession, met at Columbia on the 17th of December, 1860. It is recorded that, at the moment when this body assembled, several signs of indignant nature were exhibited, which an ancient Greek or Roman would have asserted superstitiously, to have indicated and foreboded the wrath of the gods at the act about to be perpetrated. A heavy fog of unusual dampness and thickness hung over the city, enveloping every thing in gloom and darkness. At the same time, the fearful ravages of the small-pox struck terror into the hearts both of strangers and citizens. Undeterred, however, by these sinister omens, the Convention assembled at noon; General Jamison was chosen temporary chairman; the names of the delegates were enrolled, and the Convention was organized. At a subsequent election for permanent officers, the same gentleman was again elected President. So overpowered was he by his feelings of gratitude, when he rose to thank the Convention for the exalted honor conferred upon him, that, having uttered a few incoherent and absurd remarks, he concluded by declaring, with perfect truth: "I can't say any thing; I can't express my feelings"—and resumed his seat amid the sympathy of the audience. One of the first and most prudent acts of the Convention was to remove its sessions from Columbia to Charleston, in consequence of the prevalence and virulence of the small-pox. Hon. Howell Cobb was present as Commissioner from Alabama; Messrs. Elmore and Hooker were the Commissioners from Mississippi.

When the Convention re-assembled at Charleston on the 18th of December, its first achievement was to appoint a committee to prepare and report a Secession Ordinance, together with a Declaration of Independence. Lawrence M. Keitt, one of the most violent and rabid of Southern

agitators, was selected as the chairman of this Committee. At the same time Mr. Rhett offered a resolution, which was adopted with great unanimity, to the effect that a committee be appointed to provide for the assembling of a Convention of all the seceding States, for the purpose of forming a Constitution, and establishing a new Confederacy. It was on the 20th of December that South Carolina consummated her treason and her disgrace by finally adopting the Ordinance of Secession.\*

When the ballot was taken upon the passage of this ordinance, it was sustained and approved by an unanimous vote. Out of one hundred and sixty-nine members, not a single dissenting voice was heard in favor of the glorious and time-honored Union. As soon as the action of the Convention was communicated to the populace in the streets, loud and long acclamations rent the air. It was ordered by the Convention that the momentous and decisive act which had just been performed should be communicated by telegraph to the representatives of South Carolina in Congress; and provision was made for engrossing the ordinance, and for its signature by all the members of the Convention, with great pomp and ceremony at Institute Hall.

\* This document was as follows: "*An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America:*

"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved."

Subsequent to the passage of this memorable act, a discussion ensued in the Convention in reference to the new position and responsibilities thus assumed by South Carolina. It was asserted that, by the adoption of that ordinance, no person within the limits of the State possessed, or could exercise, any authority which he had previously derived from the Federal Government. There was no Collector of the Port, no Postmaster, no United States Judge, or Attorney, or Marshal; and it would become necessary to appoint other officers in their stead. One member boasted that at last, after a struggle of forty years, there was no man in the State who dared to collect the revenues of the Federal Government. It was asserted by another, and the whole Convention seemed to sympathize intensely with the remark, that great care should be taken in the measures which were adopted; because nothing should be done which might affect the dignity, honor, and glory of South Carolina. There was a difference of opinion, however, among the assembled wisdom, whether the passage of the ordinance of Secession abrogated all, or only some, of the laws of the United States within the limits of South Carolina. It was an argument which could not be answered, that the legal tender in the State must remain gold and silver; and what gold and silver could there be, except such as bore the stamp and the superscription of the Federal Government? That conclusive consideration settled the point, that South Carolina could not as yet wholly ignore the existence of the Government of the United States of North America. They must for the present allow that Government at least a *quasi* existence. And so indeed they generously did. They agreed still to permit the Federal Government to spend money at the rate of a million per annum in carrying the mails through the

seceding States. It was finally settled that the spirit of the Ordinance must be observed, until they could treat with the General Government in regard to the further adjustment of details.

On the 22d of December, the Committee of the Convention which had been appointed to prepare an address to the Southern States, for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation and sympathy, reported. The chairman read an elaborate declaration of the causes which existed, and which they regarded as sufficient justification for Secession. It set forth, *inter alia*, that the Federal Government had signally failed to perform its duty toward the slave-holding States; especially in regard to the matter of executing the fourth article of the Federal Constitution, which provided that persons held to service and labor in one State, and fleeing to another, should be delivered up on the demand of the party to whom such service or labor was due. It declared that all the Northern, and many of the Western States, had passed laws within their respective limits which effectually nullified this provision of the Federal Constitution; that some States had resisted the right of transit for slaves in the custody of their masters; that others had directly refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder; and that in one or two States, slaves were protected by the connivance of ministers of the law, from the power and grasp of their owners, who had pursued, had overtaken, and had demanded their property. It added that, in view of these great and unspeakable outrages on the Federal Constitution, and on the rights of the South, it was time that the slave States should withdraw from a compact in which the legitimate ends contemplated by its establishment were defeated. To incense the South still more, it was asserted that the free States



had been guilty of the immeasurable impudence and presumption of assuming to decide upon the propriety of their domestic institutions; to denounce as sinful the sacred institution of slavery; to establish societies among themselves whose express object it should be to disturb the peace and injure the property of the South, by enticing their slaves away from their homes, and by inciting those who remained to commit acts of rebellion and servile insurrection.

This extraordinary document enumerated other causes of complaint against the North, which must indeed deeply move the sympathy of the universe. It declared that this malignant spirit, so hostile to the interests of the South, had continued its restless and pernicious agitations for twenty-five years, until at last it had secured a supremacy in the Federal Government. Aggravated, therefore, as former injuries had been, the future promised others still more insufferable. At this stage of the argument, a specimen of South Carolina logic was introduced which presented an astonishing instance of dialectical skill. It was asserted that a *sectional* party had obtained control of the Federal Government, while, however, it had observed all the *forms of the Constitution in so doing*. It will remain an impenetrable mystery to all rational beings out of the seceding States, how a party can be sectional whose operations are carried on in strict accordance with the forms and provisions of the Federal Constitution, and yet is so powerful, both in force and in numbers, as to exceed every other party, and obtain a supremacy over all competitors in strict accordance with the provisions of that same Constitution. We may answer, that the triumphant party was either sectional or it was not. If it were sectional, then the National Government must also be sectional. If the Government

was not sectional, then the triumphant party could not have been sectional. But the National Government is not sectional, according to the admission of the Secessionists themselves. Therefore, the party which, by legal and constitutional means, could and did obtain control of that unsectional Government, could not possibly have itself been sectional.

But as South Carolina had a logic of its own, so also had it a policy peculiar to itself. After the passage of the ordinance of Secession, the Convention resolved that, until otherwise provided, the Governor of the State should be authorized to appoint collectors and other officers connected with the Customs for the several ports of the State, postmasters, and other necessary persons, instead of the Federal functionaries who had been displaced. The oath to be administered to those persons appointed for that purpose was prepared and enjoined. It was as follows: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and true in the allegiance I bear to South Carolina, so long as I may continue a citizen thereof; and that I am duly qualified according to the Constitution of this State to exercise the duties of the office to which I have been appointed; and will, to the best of my ability, discharge the duties of the office, and preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of this State. So help me God."

Thus the Rubicon was at length passed, and Secession became a stern yet absurd reality. When the news of this event was conveyed to different portions of the Union, it produced in different localities the most opposite effects. The inhabitants of the free States, both in the East, in the West, and in the centre, received the intelligence with mingled surprise and disgust. They regarded it as an evidence of the amazing stupidity,

obstinacy, and malignity of the people of South Carolina; who, without any cause or excuse, except such as must excite the derision of all intelligent people, had dissolved their connection with a glorious and beneficent Government, and had plunged themselves into all the inevitable horrors of political chaos and ruin. It was evidently a case illustrative of the familiar maxim: *Quem Deus vult perdere, priusquam dementat*. Even that party in the North from whom the Secessionists had confidently expected to receive sympathy and comfort, the former advocates of Southern interests, disappointed them in this respect; and joined heartily in the general chorus of censure and condemnation which resounded throughout the land. The border slave States regarded the event with suspicion and apprehension, and sent no message of encouragement or congratulation. It was only in those States which had already expressed their approval of Secession that any sympathy with the policy of South Carolina was expressed or exhibited—in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. It is not impossible that this grand and prominent isolation in evil and in ignominy, may have flattered the vanity and strengthened the determination of that State, which has always been so remarkable and eminent for patriotism, and for that extreme modesty which is invariably an accompaniment of superior merit! They had already accomplished what was probably the chief motive of the movement—they had attracted to themselves the attention of the entire nation; and they flattered themselves, doubtless, that soon they would be the object of the admiring scrutiny of the whole world. That eminence would indeed be an ample compensation for all that they would be called upon to suffer and to sacrifice in the future; and they

therefore might select for their motto that other maxim :  
*Post nubila Phœbus.*

Nevertheless, he who carefully considers the circumstances which attended this important event will be surprised at a singular and anomalous peculiarity connected with it. He will observe that, in this instance, the most sacred of all political relations, involving in its embrace other ties more tender, other associations more solemn still, was ruptured with a degree of thoughtlessness, of exultation even, which indicated the mastery of malignant passions, and the presence of callous hearts. The actors in this melancholy drama, as they went forth from their ancestral homes and their ancient associates, sent no words of kind farewell, they uttered no parting benediction to those with whom they had been so long connected, and from whose society they thus tore themselves. They made no allusion to past eventful incidents, to storms which, in other and happier times, they had nobly breasted shoulder to shoulder ; to scenes of sadness, where their gushing tears had mingled in one hallowed stream ; to fields of glory, where they had joined in common struggles and had achieved united triumphs. In that dark hour they seemed unconscious of the real extent of the peril, the disaster, and the disgrace, which, in the impartial judgment of the civilized world, they thereby brought upon themselves. True patriots, disinterested philanthropists, and wise statesmen, do not disport themselves with such levity in the great crisis of human responsibility and destiny. It was indeed a spectacle calculated to excite the pity of the wise and good of all lands and ages.



## CHAPTER II.

TREASONABLE PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR PICKENS—RESIGNATION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SOUTH CAROLINA IN CONGRESS—THE CRITICENDEN PROPOSITIONS OF COMPROMISE—THEIR PROVISIONS—SCRAMBLE FOR FEDERAL PROPERTY—COMMISSIONERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—MAJOR ANDERSON—THE REMOVAL OF HIS COMMAND TO FORT SUMTER—MR. SECRETARY FLOYD—HIS RESIGNATION—DEMEANOR OF THE REBEL COMMISSIONERS AT WASHINGTON—THE CONVENTION OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES—IMPORTANT EVENTS AT SAVANNAH—SECESSION OF MISSISSIPPI—PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS—RESIGNATION OF HIS SEAT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE—THE SECESSION OF ALABAMA—OF FLORIDA, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, AND TEXAS.

ON the twenty-fourth of December, 1860, Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, issued a proclamation setting forth that the State, having seceded from the Federal Union, was thenceforth an independent and sovereign community; and as such had the right to levy war, to conclude peace, to negotiate treaties, and to do all other acts whatsoever which appertain to a free and independent government. On the same day, the representatives of that State in Congress—Messrs. McQueen, Bonham, Boyce, and Ashmore—addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House, containing the resignation of their respective posts. That document was as follows: "We avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity, since the official communication of the intelligence, of making known to your honorable body that the people of the State of South Carolina, in their sovereign capacity, have resumed the power heretofore delegated by them to the Federal

Government of the United States, and have thereby dissolved our connection with the House of Representatives. In taking leave of those with whom we have been associated in a common agency, we as well as the people of our commonwealth, desire to do so with a feeling of mutual regard and respect for each other—cherishing the hope that in our future relations we may better enjoy that peace and harmony essential to the happiness of a free and enlightened people.”

It was at this period that John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, came forward in the Senate with his famous propositions of compromise, for the purpose, if possible, of healing the difficulty. As these propositions possess an historical interest and importance, it may be proper here to state their principal contents. They provided that thenceforth slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, of which the party should be duly convicted by process of law, should be prohibited in all the territories of the United States *lying north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes*; that in all the territories south of that latitude, slavery should not be interfered with by Congress; and that when the territories north of that line were entitled to admission as States to the Union, they should be so admitted, with slavery or without it, as their respective inhabitants might themselves at that period determine. They also provided that Congress should possess no right to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia; they denied the same right in the national dockyards and arsenals; they maintained the right of the transit of slaves through the free States; and they proposed, that States in which fugitive slaves had been rescued from the possession of their masters, when in pursuit of them, should pay the value of them to their alleged owners. But the patriotic

efforts of Mr. Crittenden, on this occasion, were useless; the extreme views held by both the Northern and the Southern senators upon the questions involved in his compromise, rendered an accommodation utterly impossible.

The great State of South Carolina having withdrawn from the Union, the next thing to be done was, to remove all the monuments of Federal power, and take possession of all the Federal property, which existed within her limits. It was beneath her dignity to permit these to remain before her eyes as mementos of her former degradation, as an humble member of the repudiated and rejected General Government. Accordingly, the assembled Convention proceeded to select Commissioners to proceed to Washington as their representatives, and make a formal demand for these various objects of dispute.

Immediately on their arrival at the seat of Government, the Commissioners announced their presence to Mr. Buchanan. In a communication to that functionary, Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, respectfully yet firmly set forth that they had been delegated by the State of South Carolina to inform the Federal Government of their withdrawal from the Union; to negotiate in her name upon all such questions as necessarily arose in consequence of that act; and that they were prepared to enter upon these negotiations in a friendly spirit, with the desire to inaugurate their new relations so as to promote the mutual advantage of both parties. They added, however, that "the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges

given in a manner that we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here, an officer of the United States, acting as we are assured not only without, but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another—thus altering to a most important extent the condition of affairs under which we came. Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangement by which our mutual interests may be amicably adjusted. And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threaten speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.” To this address Mr. Buchanan replied evasively; and his answer elicited a lengthy and haughty rejoinder from the Commissioners. Meanwhile, the subject and the destination of the forts in Charleston harbor assumed an increasing importance. At that period Fort Moultrie was commanded by Major Anderson, under whose orders there had been placed a small garrison.

On the 26th of December that officer transferred his command from Fort Moultrie, to the greater and stronger fortress of Sumter. This act was one indicating intrepidity, sagacity and skill. Major Anderson thereby gained an important advantage over the Secessionists; and he received the deserved applause of the nation in return. Immediately afterward the troops of South Carolina took possession of Fort Moultrie, and thus held their first armed position against the Federal Govern-



ment. That position was of little service to them, however, inasmuch as Major Anderson, before withdrawing from it, had spiked the cannon, had burned the gun carriages, and had left the works in a mutilated and useless condition. Secretary Floyd was greatly incensed at the conduct of Major Anderson. Being secretly in the service of the Secessionists, he now began more openly to advocate their interests in the Federal Cabinet. Finding that the voice of public opinion was beginning to condemn him with general and harmonious censure, he read the following paper to the President in the presence of the Cabinet, and afterward resigned his office: "It is evident now, from the action of the commander of Fort Moultrie, that the solemn pledges of the Government have been violated by Major Anderson. In my judgment but one remedy is now left us by which to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war. It is in vain now to hope for confidence on the part of the people of South Carolina in any further pledges as to the action of the military. One remedy is left, and that is to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston. I hope the President will allow me to make that order at once. This order, in my judgment, can alone prevent bloodshed and civil war."

The Commissioners who were sent from South Carolina to the Federal Government, conducted themselves at Washington with such a degree of arrogance as effectually to defeat the purpose of conciliation between the rival Republics, if any such purpose had been entertained. Their last communication, addressed to Mr. Buchanan, was a singular effusion of combined impudence and imprudence. They assumed the dictatorial tone of masters, and assured the President that he had, in effect, compromised his honor by not immediately

withdrawing the Federal troops from the forts in the harbor of Charleston. They reminded him, also, in language which was absurd and ludicrous in itself, that "gentlemen of the *highest possible* public reputation, and the *most unsullied* integrity," had advised him to withdraw those troops as a measure due to the claims of peace and the continued prosperity to the country. They added that the authorities of South Carolina were fully justified in taking possession of that portion of Federal property which they had already seized; and that the President should have followed the counsel of Mr. Floyd in regard to the disputed matters, as that personage was his legitimate adviser in the premises. This assertion was erroneous, to use a gentle and courtly phrase; because Mr. Floyd had already become strongly and justly suspected for those acts of treason against the Federal Government which were afterward clearly and unanswerably proved against him. The Commissioners also charged, that by approving of the removal of Major Anderson's command to Fort Sumter, the United States virtually commenced hostilities and declared war against the State of South Carolina. This declaration was equally false; because the three forts in the harbor of Charleston were exclusively Federal property, erected by Federal money, and therefore the Federal Government possessed an unquestionable right to transfer its own troops to and from its own fortresses precisely as it pleased, without involving a menace to any one. They concluded by declaring that the Administration, by refusing to comply with the demands of those whom the Commissioners represented, assumed the entire responsibility of rendering civil war inevitable; that the State of South Carolina accepted the issue; and they appealed to him, "who is the God of Justice as well as the God

of Hosts," for the propriety of their conduct. They declared that South Carolina would perform the solemn and momentous duty which devolved upon her, "hopefully, bravely and thoroughly." They concluded by informing the President of the important and calamitous fact, that they purposed to return forthwith to Charleston. However much posterity may condemn the conduct and policy of Mr. Buchanan in reference to the Rebellion, he will deserve their commendation for the manner in which he treated this extraordinary communication. As soon as he became aware of its character and contents, he instantly ordered it to be returned to those from whom it emanated, without the undeserved courtesy of an answer.

On the 26th of December Mr. Rhett introduced an ordinance into the Convention of South Carolina, recommending the assembling of another Convention, consisting of representatives from all the slaveholding States. This ordinance consisted of six separate clauses. The first provided for the summoning of the Convention aforesaid at Montgomery, Alabama; whose duty it should be to adopt a Constitution for the government of a Southern Confederacy. The second clause recommended to the slaveholding States the appointment by each State respectively of as many delegates therefrom as they had members in Congress; and suggesting that the proposed Constitution should be voted on by States. The third ordained that, as soon as that Constitution should have been adopted by the Convention appointed for the purpose, it should be referred to the Legislatures of all the States concerned, for their ultimate discussion and approval. The fourth article affirmed that, in the opinion of the State of South Carolina, the Federal Constitution would form a suitable basis for the Confederacy of South-

ern States. The fifth clause declared that the Convention of South Carolina should select eight delegates to represent that Commonwealth in the Convention of the Southern States. The last article provided for the election of one commissioner from each slaveholding State, whose duty it should be to call the attention of the people of his State respectively to the duty of complying with the provisions of this ordinance, as adopted and recommended by the Convention of South Carolina.

This important document had been laid upon the table of the Charleston Convention, for the purpose of future and more deliberate discussion. On the same day another ordinance was adopted, whose purpose was to gain the coöperation and aid of the Federal office-holders in the Palmetto State to the cause of the Rebellion. It enacted, that all citizens of South Carolina who, at the period of the passage of the ordinance of Secession, held Federal offices within the limits of the State, were thereby appointed to have and hold the same offices under the new Government, and to receive the emoluments of the same until it was otherwise ordered. It also enacted that "the revenue and navigation laws of the United States being abolished, as regards the Federal Government, they shall, as far as may be applicable, be adopted by the State of South Carolina, and executed thenceforth as such; and that all moneys which may thereafter accrue under those laws shall, when the salaries and expenses of the officials have been duly paid therefrom, be delivered to the Treasurer of South Carolina, and not, as heretofore, be paid to the Federal Government." This important act concluded by authorizing and commanding the officials of the State to "take possession of, and retain in their custody, all the property and funds of the United States which may come within their reach."



This ordinance passed the Convention with general unanimity. Immediately afterward the Palmetto flag was unfurled from the Charleston Post Office, from the Custom House, from Fort Moultrie, from Castle Pinckney, and from the Arsenal.

It must be admitted that the Charleston Convention proceeded in the work of political organization with a considerable degree of sagacity and ability. They passed ordinances amending the Constitution of the State in all those particulars which were rendered necessary by the new attitude which she had assumed as an independent sovereignty. They authorized the Governor of South Carolina to receive foreign ambassadors, to appoint representatives to foreign courts, to make treaties "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," to fill vacancies in the Senate during its recess, to convene that body under extraordinary circumstances; in a word, to enact a *rôle* similar to that of President of the United States, as far as the limited circumstances of the case would permit. The Convention also adopted laws governing the future rights and defining the future qualifications of citizens of the State.

While these important events were transpiring in South Carolina, the political virus was being rapidly and effectually diffused throughout other portions of the Union. The Commissioners who had been previously appointed by the Convention of that State to proceed to each of the slaveholding States, and lay before the Conventions which might there assemble the ordinance of Secession, and solicit their approval and co-operation, had been both diligent and successful in the execution of their trust. The new year 1861 was inaugurated at Savannah by the seizure of the Federal forts Pulaski and Jackson, by order of the authorities of the State of

Georgia. This example was immediately followed by the Executive of Alabama, by whose orders the United States Arsenal at Mobile, and Fort Morgan, in the port of that city, were taken possession of by the State troops.

The first Southern State which followed in the wake of South Carolina in the act of Secession was Mississippi. The Convention assembled at Jackson, on the 7th of January, and it soon appeared that the prevalent feeling among the delegates was in favor of withdrawing from the Union. The President, when assuming the duties of his office, delivered an address in which he advocated that policy in bold and unequivocal language. A committee of fifteen was immediately appointed to prepare and report an ordinance of Secession, providing for the immediate withdrawal of the State from the Federal Union, with special reference to the establishment of a new Confederacy, to be composed of the Seceding States. That committee reported on the 9th inst. Their report was wholly in accordance with the prevalent treasonable spirit. It was read, briefly discussed, and then adopted by a vote of eighty-four yeas to fifteen nays. By this precipitate act Mississippi became an outcast from the Union. The fifteen delegates who had opposed the ordinance made several efforts to postpone action in accordance with its provisions; but in vain. The torrent of opposition was overwhelming. On the next day those fifteen appended their signatures to the ordinance, thereby making the voice of the Convention unanimous. Then the demonstrations of joy on the part of the populace were enthusiastic in the extreme. The city of Jackson was illuminated, and as the news spread from town to town, and from village to village, glad shouts of rejoicing resounded throughout the State.

That State was represented at this period in the Federal Senate by an individual who has since achieved an unenviable immortality. Jefferson Davis had long been known as one of the most violent and extreme advocates of Southern and sectional interests; and though a man of acknowledged abilities, he had been too closely identified with the advocacy of disloyal sentiments to have gained the confidence or esteem of the nation. As soon as the news arrived at Washington that the State which he represented had withdrawn from the Union, it was announced that he would resign his seat in the Senate, and when so doing would deliver a brief address. The occasion would be one of unusual interest; and great curiosity was felt to ascertain how the Senator would acquit himself of the difficult and delicate task before him. Accordingly he arose at the first convenient opportunity, and proceeded, with a tone and manner not destitute of solemnity and pathos, to announce, that the State which he represented in that august body having withdrawn from the Union, it became his duty to resign his seat and his functions in it. He continued by reminding those who heard him that he had invariably advocated, during the long period of his public political career, the right of each State to withdraw from the Union whenever she may choose so to do. This right was an abstract and paramount one, even where a State might not in reality possess any real ground of complaint against the Federal Government. But the case became stronger, and the right of Secession more undeniable, when such a ground of complaint does exist. Such was the fact in the present instance. He held that the slaveholding States, and Mississippi among the rest, had serious causes of offence against the Federal Government. He also asserted that a material difference existed be-

tween Secession and Nullification. The former was a total withdrawal from the Union; the latter was an attempt to resist the authority of the General Government, while the parties so resisting still formed a portion of that Government. After dwelling upon these general topics he adverted to considerations more personal to himself; and in a tone of sympathy and cordiality which could scarcely have been expected from his hard and stern nature, gave utterance to those feelings of regret which naturally rose within him, at the severance of relations with which many pleasing and grateful recollections would forever be associated in his mind.

After the delivery of this address Mr. Davis withdrew from the Senate chamber amid the adieux of his political and personal friends. The example already given by the States of South Carolina and Mississippi was quickly followed by Alabama. A powerful and malignant genius controlled the destinies of that State, and led her on to perpetrate the most unfortunate event in her history. In the Convention which met at Montgomery, William L. Yancey was the leading and commanding spirit; for on the 11th of January the secession ordinance was passed by that body. That ordinance was a singular and anomalous production. It commenced by asserting that the "election of Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin to the two highest executive offices in the Union by a sectional party was an insult to the South too great to be borne." We cannot refrain from remarking here what a palpable absurdity appears upon the very face of this declaration; because it is self-evident to every calm and clear thinker, as we have already asserted, that that party which proved itself at the ballot-box to be the most numerous and powerful in the whole nation, whichever party that might be, could not be called a sectional one; and whatever



other defects it might exhibit, it must, in the nature of the case, be more national and universal than any other. The inhabitants of Alabama generally received the news of the secession of the State with immense exultation. In the towns, the villages, and the country, the wildest excitement prevailed. In Mobile particularly the enthusiasm was boundless. Throughout the length and breadth of the entire Commonwealth Secession poles were planted, Secession flags were unfurled to the breeze, bands of music brayed forth Secession melodies, Secession cannon thundered, and Secession eloquence resounded, in honor of the glorious and propitious event.

The next member of the Union which followed this ignominious example was Florida. Her apostacy was consummated on the 12th of January. The Convention of that State met at Tallahassee, and after a short debate, the secession ordinance was passed. It was signed by each member of the Convention in one of the porticos of the Capitol; and it is recorded that, as each delegate appended his name to the instrument, he was hailed with cheers, and a salute fired in his honor. Immediately afterward the Federal property at Pensacola was seized by the Rebels, with the exception of a single fortress. Fort Pickens was then held for the United States by Lieutenant Slemmer, who presented so firm and bold a resistance to the demands of the Secessionists, that they desisted from any hostile demonstration for its acquisition.

On the 19th of January, 1861, the ordinance of Secession was passed in Georgia. The vote stood two hundred and eight against eighty-nine. It is worthy of note, that prominent among those eighty-nine who opposed this inglorious act, not only by their speeches, but by their votes, was Alexander H. Stevens, afterward elected Vice President of the rebellious Confederacy. This was a rare

and extreme instance of that inconsistency of conduct and principle which is so frequent and prevalent a vice among American politicians. This ordinance was remarkable for its brevity. The important act of Secession was performed by means of an instrument no longer or more elaborate than the following: "We, the people of the State of Georgia, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinances adopted by the people of the State of Georgia in Convention in 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was assented to, ratified, and adopted, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly ratifying and adopting amendments to the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated. And we do further declare and ordain that the Union now subsisting between the State of Georgia and other States under the name of the United States, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Georgia is in full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State." Immediately after the adoption of this ordinance Fort Pulaski was taken possession of by the troops of Georgia, acting under the order of the Governor of the State.

But the catalogue of rebel States was not yet complete. On the 28th of January, 1861, the Convention summoned in Louisiana passed the secession ordinance. The usual process of plunder against the property of the United States ensued immediately after the passage of this ordinance; and revenue cutters, arsenals, moneys, and other effects of the United States, were seized by the orders of the Governor of the State. It was not until the 1st of February that the last of the States, which at *that* time united their fortunes with the Secessionists, consummated the act. On that day Texas withdrew by a vote of her Convention, from the Federal Union.

## CHAPTER III.

VARIOUS EFFORTS MADE FOR COMPROMISE AND SETTLEMENT—CONCILIATORY MEETINGS HELD IN THE NORTHERN STATES—THEIR ULTIMATE FAILURE—APOSTACY OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS—RESIGNATION OF THE SOUTHERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FEDERAL CONGRESS—THE REBEL CONGRESS CONVENED AT MONTGOMERY—ITS ORGANIZATION—ADOPTION OF A PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—JEFFERSON DAVIS ELECTED PRESIDENT—A. H. STEPHENS CHOSEN VICE PRESIDENT—PROPHECIES OF SENATOR WIGFALL—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF JEFFERSON DAVIS, OF STEPHENS, OF THE CABINET MINISTERS OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, MEMMINGER, TOMBS, MALLORY, WALKER, BENJAMIN—THE PERSONAL QUALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE OFFICERS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rapidity with which the act of Secession had been consummated in so many of the disaffected States, hopes were entertained that a resort to arms might yet be averted, and the schism be eventually healed. Several efforts were made in Congress to pass resolutions so amending the Federal Constitution as to satisfy the South. But those efforts failed, for two reasons: First, because it was not possible, in the nature of things, where such antagonistic interests and principles existed, for any amendment to be made to the Constitution which would meet the requirements and conscientious convictions of honest statesmen on the subject in dispute. Secondly, because it was equally impossible, in such a case, to propose any amendment which would find favor with selfish party leaders, with mercenary politicians, who flourish by means of the distinctions and strifes of factions, and whose occupation would be utterly gone if

concord and unanimity prevailed throughout the whole country. Hence it was that, during the brief remainder of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, the several efforts which were made in Congress to heal the difficulty proved abortive.

Other expedients which were adopted elsewhere were equally inefficient. One of these deserves to be noticed. It became the fashion in many of the cities of the North to hold public meetings, at which resolutions were adopted, setting forth how much the inhabitants of the free States deprecated the secession of the South; how much they abominated abolitionists and fanatics of every description; how earnestly they desired the South to draw a broad and clear distinction between these fanatics and the great mass of the conservative people of the North; how much the latter valued the good will and the intelligence, which really meant the commerce and the trade, of the slave States. These demonstrations, instead of accomplishing the end intended by them, merely excited the contempt of Southern fanatics, and gave the entire population of the Cotton States an undue conception of their own importance. If they had not been deficient in arrogance before, their vanity became greatly exaggerated afterward, in consequence of these pusillanimous and mercenary movements at the North.

As soon as the several States had seceded, many of those persons who had, within their respective limits, opposed the act on various grounds, gradually yielded to the pressure of the prevalent sentiments hostile to the North, changed their position, and gave in their adhesion to the opponents of the Union. The most extraordinary instance of such conversion was that of Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. That able man, as we have already stated, had at first opposed Secession, and had refused to



sign the ordinance when it was passed by the Convention. But immediately afterward, when he discovered that his State no longer remained in any respect identified with the Federal Union, and that there could be no further prospect of dignities and honors for him *in* that Union, he began to waver in his position. The art and tact with which he prepared the way for his complete apostacy are worthy of notice. Nothing could have been more adroit or more specious. He wrote a preamble and resolution which were adopted by the Convention, to the following effect: "Whereas, the lack of unanimity in the action of this Convention on the passage of the ordinance of Secession indicates a difference of opinion amongst the members of the Convention, not so much as to the rights which Georgia claims, or the wrongs of which she complains, as to the remedy and its application before a resort to other means of redress; and whereas it is desirable to give expression to that intention, which really exists among all the members of the Convention, to sustain the State in the course of action which she has pronounced to be proper for the occasion; therefore resolved, that all the members of this Convention, including those who voted against the ordinance, as well as those who voted for it, will sign the same as a pledge of the unanimous determination of this Convention to sustain and defend the State in this her course of remedy, with all its responsibilities and consequences, without regard to individual approval or disapproval of its adoption." That is to say, those who voted against Secession, and refused to sign the ordinance, promised, nevertheless, to sustain the State in the execution of it; those who condemned Secession, and regarded it as pernicious, illegal and wrong, would nevertheless support those to their utmost who have pledged themselves to

adhere to that pernicious, illegal and injurious policy, to whatever results it may lead! American political history presents many instances of profound and logical reasoning, of consistent and cohesive policy; but we imagine that this case transcends the rest!

At this period all the representatives of the seceding States in the Federal Congress, except Mr. Bouligny of Louisiana, had resigned their seats and returned to their constituents. During the month of January, 1861, a number of the Conventions which had passed the ordinance of Secession continued to sit, and to adopt those additional measures which were rendered necessary in consequence of their withdrawal from the Union. The Georgia Convention demanded from the Federal Government possession of all the Federal property within the limits of that State; and appointed commissioners to proceed to the other apostate States, and give them counsel and encouragement. The Convention of Alabama adopted a resolution approving of the action of the representatives of the State in withdrawing from the Federal Congress. All the Conventions of the seceding States elected delegates to the Congress which had been appointed to meet at Montgomery, Alabama, for the purpose of establishing a Southern Confederacy. The Convention of Florida commended the action of Commodore Armstrong, who, being in command of the Pensacola Navy Yard at that time, surrendered it to the authorities of the State, without making the least effort at resistance. We fancy that Commodore Armstrong will scarcely take rank, in the history of this memorable war, by the side of Anderson, Slemmer, Ellsworth, Lyon, and other heroic defenders of the Union.

Thus had these seven States, which once formed a part of this beneficent Union, persisted in the suicidal

act of completely destroying their connection with it. All the preliminary steps toward the establishment of a rival, and perhaps a hostile, republic in the South had now been successively taken. The foundations of the new political edifice had been laid with a degree of prudence, resolution and harmony, worthy of a more glorious and commendable enterprise. The Southern Congress of Montgomery, destined to achieve an unenviable immortality, was about to convene and to complete all the features and details of the architectural monster which had been begun.

The Congress of the seceded States met at Montgomery, Alabama, on Monday, February 4th, 1861. They assembled in the Senate chamber of the Capitol. A full representation from every rebel State appeared and took their seats. The Convention was called to order by Mr. Chilton, a delegate from Alabama. He moved that R. W. Barnwell, of South Carolina, be chosen temporary Chairman. The motion prevailed. Mr. Barnwell took the chair and made a thankful speech. He then invited the Rev. Dr. Manly to offer a prayer. That individual at once came forward and prayed. The chairman then reminded the Convention that the first duty which devolved upon them was to provide for their more perfect organization by electing permanent officers. But it appears that the Chairman was precipitate in his suggestion; for Mr. Rhett rose and asserted that the first thing in order was not that measure, but to examine and approve the credentials of the delegates. The Chairman admitted the truth of the observation, and the verification was commenced. That preliminary process being completed, the delegates signed the roll. The whole Convention consisted of forty-one members, one delegate only being absent.

The Congress being thus organized, Mr. Rhett proposed that the body proceed at once to the election of permanent officers; and without giving the members any opportunity to express their approval or their disapproval of the proposition, he proceeded to nominate Howell Cobb, of Georgia, as President of the Convention. He also proposed that the election be made by acclamation. This proposition was also complied with, and Mr. Cobb was chosen by the acclamatory process. The result being announced, and indeed being plainly apparent of itself, it was followed by "much applause." Mr. Cobb then took the Chair, and addressed the Convention. He too was oppressed with more than an ordinary and painful degree of grateful emotion; but he gave utterance to the best of his ability to his "sincere thanks" for the honor conferred upon him; after which the remaining officers of the Congress were elected. These also received their honors by the exaggerated and superfluous process of acclamation. Mr. Stephens then moved that a committee be appointed to report rules for the government of the Convention. This proposition was agreed to; and the committee being appointed, the proceedings of the first day terminated.

It is not pertinent to our purpose to follow the details of the less important transactions of this Congress. We will allude merely to those of leading interest, and having a direct bearing upon the events which ensued. The body adopted the novel but doubtless commendable expedient of holding secret sessions, so that a portion of their transactions remains unknown to the general public. Resolutions were passed from day to day perfecting the organization of the new Confederacy. The most important of these had reference to the adoption of a Constitution, the election of Executive officers, pro-



viding suitable buildings and accommodations for the inferior functionaries of the Confederacy, and selecting a flag and other emblematical and official contrivances. On the sixth day of their deliberations the delegates adopted a Constitution, which had been reported by the committee appointed for that purpose. This Constitution was termed a "provisional" one, intended to govern the new Confederacy for one year from the inauguration of the future President, or until a permanent confederation between the States should be put in operation.

On the same day which was signalized by the adoption of this Constitution, the chief executive officers of the new republic were chosen by the Congress: Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia Vice President. It must be admitted that great sagacity and prudence were exhibited in the selections thus made. Among the very considerable number of eminent men who resided within the limits of the rebel States, it is probable that none could have been chosen so well adapted to the peculiar positions which were then to be filled. It was evident that the future President must needs be a man possessing both civil and military talents. He should be familiar with the machinery and principles of government in the cabinet, as well as with the command and conduct of an army in the field. He should also be well acquainted with the structure and aims of that great and powerful Republic against whose lawful control they had rebelled. He must be shrewd, resolute, firm, desperate. Above all things, he must be extremely fanatical in his Southern prejudices, and be thoroughly infected with secession principles. Such a man preëminently was Jefferson Davis. The Vice President must resemble him in all these respects except one. He need possess no military

knowledge, no martial experience. It would be his duty to carry on the Government in the absence of the chief Executive; and while the latter was at the head of the victorious armies of the Southern Confederacy, sacking Washington, driving Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet in hot haste from the Capital, striking terror into the inhabitants of the North, burning cities, blockading ports, capturing ships upon the high seas; during the progress of all these heroic and magnificent deeds, which it was confidently and exultingly asserted the invincible Davis would soon be achieving, he, the Vice President, must be conducting the home government with prudence, harmony and skill. These boasts respecting the future achievements of the rebel President formed a prominent feature, at this period, of the prevalent sentiment and utterances in the seceding States.

No person was more enthusiastic and constant in giving expression to these vauntings than ex-senator Wigfall of Texas. But Wigfall's prognostications were liable to an objection of a very peculiar and serious character. King Charles II. of England was accustomed to assert that Prince George of Denmark, who had married his niece, the Princess Anne, afterward Queen, was extremely shallow; that he had tried the Prince when sober, and he had tried him when drunk; but that, whether drunk or sober, there was nothing in him. This was precisely the defect of the prophecies of Senator Wigfall. It did not produce the slightest difference whether the prophetic frenzy came upon him when intoxicated, or when not intoxicated; in either case there was nothing in him; in no case did his predictions prove to be in accordance with the event.

We venture to predict that the *rôle* which Jefferson Davis and his chief associates have enacted, will be re-

garded by posterity, when the passions and prejudices of this stormy time shall have been lulled to repose by the Lethean flood of years, as the most unenviable and execrable which has ever fallen to the lot of any human being. We do indeed read of that "aspiring youth who fired the Ephesian dome," that he might thereby secure an immortality of fame; yet we have never learned that any—except the cruel and infamous Gloster, and such as he—commended him for the rash act. Those who have striven, from the promptings of a similar motive, to mar and desolate the nobler fabric of the American Union, will incur a condemnation during after ages, more intense, more universal, more enduring than his. Let us glance briefly at the personal histories and characteristics of these great *historic criminals*.

Jefferson Davis will occupy in future ages a position in the annals of the great republic of the New World not very unlike that of Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr. That he is a remarkable man in many respects, capable of high and great as well as of base and mean achievements, is an unquestionable fact. His personal history, which is full of variety and interest, clearly demonstrates the truth of this assertion. He was born in Christian county, Kentucky, in June, 1808. His father, who was a wealthy planter, removed soon after his birth to Wilkinson county, Mississippi. His son gave early proofs of superior intelligence and talent, and at the usual age was sent to Transylvania College, in his native State. Having completed the course of study there, he was admitted to the Military Academy at West Point in 1824. He graduated in that institution in 1828; and so high was his reputation then for energy and ability, that he immediately obtained the appoint-

ment of brevet second lieutenant, and commenced active service in the regular army.

Mr. Davis distinguished himself in the thrilling events which occurred in the Black Hawk War, and remained in the army five years until 1832. In the following year he was promoted to a first lieutenancy of dragoons, and in that capacity made a number of expeditions against the Camanches, Pawnees, and other hostile Indian tribes upon the frontiers. It was in 1835 that, chiefly in consequence of ill health, he resigned his commission, returned to Mississippi and commenced the pursuits of a planter. He remained in retirement and repose till 1843, when he began to take an active part in political life. He entered the arena of politics as a Democrat, and was chosen one of the Electors for the State of Mississippi, who gave their ballots for Polk and Dallas in 1844. In the following year he was chosen to represent his adopted State in Congress, and thus began a new and more pacific career. In that body Mr. Davis soon acquired fame and assumed a prominent position, as a public speaker and an energetic partisan. His clearness and force of thought, his bold and impressive delivery, his fluency and freedom of utterance, always commanded respect and attention from his auditors. He was evidently no common man, destined to achieve no common career.

He was thus winning his way to a high political reputation when, in July, 1846, the first regiment of Mississippi elected him their colonel, when they were about to serve in the Mexican war. He immediately accepted the post, resigned his seat in Congress, proceeded to New Orleans, took command of the regiment, and led them forward to the assistance of General Taylor, then posted on the Rio Grande. At the storming of Monterey in



September, 1846, he acted with great gallantry, and was appointed one of the Commissioners to arrange the terms of the capitulation of that city. At the bloody battle of Buena Vista in February, 1847, he won new laurels, exhibited superior heroism and bravery, was severely wounded, and extorted from the unwilling commander-in-chief an unusual compliment in his dispatch of March, 1847. In the following summer he returned to Mississippi, and was immediately appointed by the Governor of the State to fill a vacancy which had occurred in the Federal Senate. In January, 1848, he was elected by the Legislature of that State to the same high office; and after the expiration of his term in March, 1851, was again chosen for another period of service in the Senate of the United States. In 1851 he was nominated by the Democratic party in Mississippi for Governor against Henry S. Foote, but was defeated by a small majority.

After the nomination of Mr. Pierce for the Presidency in 1852, Mr. Davis took a very active part in the campaign, and spoke ably in favor of his old comrade in arms throughout the entire State. As a reward for his efficient services the new President appointed him to the office of Secretary of War. Then ensued the most honorable and most useful period of his life. He possessed every necessary qualification for the duties of his high position, and he conducted its affairs with eminent energy, ability and success. He was exceedingly popular with the army, and he made some important improvements in the service. He introduced the use of the minié rifle, he increased the inland and coast frontier defences, he explored the best route for the Pacific Railroad, he amended the light infantry tactics, he revised the whole code of the army regulations. What the zeal and ability of Arnold had been previous to his treason to his country, the efforts

and services of Davis were before the origin of the Southern Rebellion. After the termination of the administration of Mr. Pierce, Mr. Davis was elected by the Legislature of Mississippi to the Senate of the United States, for the term ending in March, 1863; but before that term had half expired he had abandoned his post, left the serene haven of high official life, and embarked upon the stormy ocean of rebellion against a great and beneficent Government. In this rash act a desperate ambition was unquestionably his leading motive. He vainly imagined that he would attain still higher eminence, and that he would at length strike the stars with his sublime head—*sublimi feriat sidera vertice*.

Of the remaining members of the rebel Government, it will be unnecessary to speak at much length. Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the Vice President, was born in 1818, and was a man of superior natural talents, a sophistical and powerful thinker, an able and effective orator. He represented the State of Georgia during a series of years in the National Legislature; and he attained a distinguished position in that body, so richly adorned by diversity, profundity and profusion of talent, among its members, at different periods. Laboring during all his life under extremely ill health, hovering continually and feebly over an open grave, the slender and uncertain hold which he maintained upon existence did not prevent him from taking an active part in the great debates and forensic battles which occurred in the House during the period of his presence in it. When the project of Secession was first agitated in Georgia, he opposed it, as has already been stated, with the utmost zeal. We have previously narrated how he changed his position, stultified his own arguments, and espoused the cause of the rebels. The reward of his services was the

second dignity in the new Confederacy. As to his qualifications for the duties of his position, there could be no question; for he was well adapted to them, both by superior natural talents and by long experience in political life.

The most remarkable of the men who were subsequently appointed to the rebel Cabinet was Charles G. Memminger, who became Secretary of the Treasury. This person was born in Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1804, and was brought to Charleston when two years of age by his parents. Soon afterward their premature death left him friendless and destitute in the world. He then became an inmate of an orphan asylum; but after some years was so fortunate as to obtain the patronage of Governor Bennet of South Carolina. That gentleman became interested in his fate, and assisted him to commence a career which afterward attained no small degree of distinction. Mr. Memminger's intellectual qualities were much above the ordinary range. His mind was clear, strong, sagacious. In temper he was ambitious, persevering, determined, self-confident. Small in person, he compensated for that deficiency by unusual activity and energy of movement. He was for a long time prominent in political life in South Carolina. For many years he was Chairman of the Committee of Finance of the Legislature of the State. He always opposed the existence of banks and the use of paper money. In truth, he had been to the State of South Carolina what Albert Gallatin was to the Federal Government in the Revolutionary era. He was however a man of details, and never rose to grand national views, nor achieved a national fame in the arena of politics. By his zeal and earnestness in advocating Secession, he invested his name with an unenviable and

execrable notoriety, and forever tarnished the honorable eminence which he had previously secured.

Next in the order of importance in the rebel Cabinet was Mr. Toombs, the Secretary of State. This person distinguished himself in the Federal Congress, during a number of years, as a zealous advocate of Southern interests. He was noted for his impetuous and declamatory style of speaking. He was an admirable representative of the peculiarities of Southern eloquence—ardent, rapid, noisy. Mr. Mallory, the Secretary of the Navy, formerly occupied a seat with honor in the United States Senate. He was a man of practical talents and utilitarian tendencies. General L. Pope Walker, the Secretary of War, was comparatively unknown to the nation at large, but he had acquired some military reputation in the South. J. P. Benjamin, the Attorney General, had previously represented the State of Louisiana during some years in the Federal Senate. He possessed no inconsiderable attainments as a jurist, and some ability as a forensic orator; but his most remarkable and prominent characteristic was his *acquisitiveness*, as was demonstrated both by his earlier and by his maturer history.



## CHAPTER IV.

ASSEMBLING OF THE PEACE CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON—THEIR PROPOSALS OF COMPROMISE—THEIR REJECTION AND FAILURE—ATTITUDE OF PRESIDENT BUCHANAN—PUBLIC SENTIMENT RESPECTING FORT SUMTER—MISSION OF THE “STAR OF THE WEST”—FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT AT MONTGOMERY—INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AS PRESIDENT—HIS ADDRESS—INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—HIS ADDRESS—HIS CABINET OFFICERS—THE FAMOUS ORATION OF A. H. STEPHENS AT SAVANNAH—ITS HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE—HIS FIRST POSITION—HE REFUTES JEFFERSON, HAMILTON, AND MADISON—HIS SECOND POSITION—THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—ABSURDITY AND FALLACY OF THAT FOUNDATION—THE FUTURE CONDITION AND DESTINY OF THE NEGRO RACE.

WHILE the founders of the Southern Confederacy were thus completing their work at Montgomery, a vigorous effort was being made by eminent men in the nation—beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Congress—to heal the difficulty, and avert the horrors of civil war. A Peace Congress was convened at Washington, whose special aim and purpose it was to accomplish this desirable result. Ex-president Tyler presided over its deliberations; and during the progress of its sessions a committee was appointed, consisting of one member from each State, for the purpose of drawing up pacific propositions, which might be acceptable to both parties. The chairman of this committee was the venerable James Guthrie of Kentucky. After much discussion, certain proposals of compromise were agreed upon.

Having adopted a number of elaborate Articles, every word of which had been carefully weighed and discussed,

the Congress provided for their being communicated to the hostile and rival Governments, for their consideration and approval. They then adjourned. But the ultimate fate of these propositions was unfortunate. They satisfied neither party, over whose minds the spirit of extreme irritation prevailed; and thus they failed in accomplishing the benevolent and patriotic purpose for which they were evidently intended.

The leaders of the Southern Rebellion at Charleston were not disposed to permit themselves or their achievements to disappear from public view; and although the attention of the nation was chiefly directed to the events then progressing at Montgomery, they managed to make sufficient commotion to be the subjects of continued astonishment and general scrutiny. Fort Sumter was still held by Major Anderson for the United States with a small garrison. The administration of James Buchanan continued to drag out its ignominious length; and the sole purpose of that personage seemed to be, to keep things as quiet as possible, and to avoid decisive and bold measures of any kind, until he should escape from the difficulties of his official position. But the voice of public sentiment imperatively demanded, that some demonstration should be made for the assistance and support of the commandant of Fort Sumter, which seemed to be in greater peril at that moment than any other of the Federal fortresses. Accordingly, a vessel named the *Star of the West*, was freighted with provisions and ammunition, and dispatched from New York to the port of Charleston. It was the hope of the nation that efficient relief would by this means be afforded to Major Anderson; and that he would be so far strengthened, as to be able to resist with success any attack which the Rebels might make upon him. Such, how-

ever, was not destined to be the case. As the *Star* of the West hove in sight off the bar of Charleston, she was greeted with a discharge of artillery from the shore. As she continued to approach, the salute became warmer and more effective. At length the fire from Morris Island assumed a really dangerous vigor and fury. Then the commander of the vessel gave the order to port her helm; she turned her head; doubled upon her track; proceeded out over the bar; and thence sailed back to New York. A more miserable and abortive attempt to accomplish any purpose could not possibly be conceived. This result excited general surprise and disgust throughout the nation. People of every class and every party inquired why the Federal Government, once so powerful and so prompt in the public service, both civil and military, had suddenly become so utterly imbecile and worthless, that an armed rebellion against the Government could pursue its insulting and defiant course, could plunder public property, could declare its intention to attack and capture Federal fortresses; and yet, all that the General Government could accomplish, after three months of menace on the part of the enemy, and of deliberation on the part of the Administration, was the sending of a single unarmed vessel, with a few men and some supplies, to make, as it were, a mere dumb show of relief, and then return again, without having accomplished any thing. What the real secret of this mysterious policy may have been, the future historian and apologist of the administration of James Buchanan must explain, and if possible, must vindicate.

Meanwhile, the establishment of the Rebel Government was progressing at its infant seat of empire. On the 15th of February the Congress at Montgomery appointed a committee to make suitable arrangements

for the reception of the new President, and for the ceremonies of his inauguration. This committee performed their duties with energy and success; and Jefferson Davis was inducted into his office on the ensuing 18th of the month, in the capitol of the State, with as much pomp and ceremony as could be mustered for the occasion. The speech delivered by the new President was elaborated with much care, and was well adapted to the circumstances under which it was uttered.

Mr. Davis concluded his address with pious allusions to the blessings of Providence, and with devout petitions for future guidance and direction from the Supreme Being. After the close of the ceremonies, the signing of the Provisional Constitution by the members of the assembled Congress ensued. Great exultation prevailed throughout Montgomery on that day; and at night the general rapture was displayed by fireworks, by melodies from brass bands, and by all the usual methods of joyful popular demonstration.

Thus at last the Southern Confederacy was fully and permanently organized. Immediately afterward the members of the Cabinet of Mr. Davis were confirmed by the Congress without hesitation. They immediately entered upon the duties of their several offices. One of the first acts of the President was to appoint General Peter G. T. Beauregard, late a major in the United States engineer corps, to proceed to Charleston and take command of the forces assembled there for the attack and capture of Fort Sumter.

While the attention of the seceding States was occupied by those events, the chief interest of the nation was engrossed by the events transpiring at Washington. On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States and assumed



the functions of his high office. No man ever inherited a more difficult or a more perilous post than fell to his lot. No man ever left a Government in a more wretched state of anarchy and confusion than his predecessor had done. Mr. Lincoln delivered an Inaugural Address characterized by great moderation, by extreme prudence, and by practical sagacity; and the nation derived fresh confidence from its manly tone and spirit, in his fitness for the anomalous position in which he was placed. He selected his Cabinet with equal judgment and felicity. William H. Seward, one of the most able and eminent of living American statesmen, was appointed Secretary of State. Simon Cameron, an adroit and experienced man of business, became Secretary of War. Gideon Welles, already favorably known for his official ability, became Secretary of the Navy. Salmon P. Chase, one of the most accomplished and profound financiers of the day, was placed at the head of the Treasury. Reuben C. Smith took charge of the Interior; Mr. Blair presided in the Post Office Department; Mr. Bates became Attorney General.

It was on the 21st of March that Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, delivered a memorable speech in the city of Savannah, which was commended by his partizans as a prodigious achievement of logical ability and skill. The professed purpose of this oration was to describe and to defend the leading principles of the Constitution of the Rebel Republic. It was regarded by the Secessionists as an unassailable and impregnable bulwark of their peculiar institutions. Its delivery was a prominent event in the establishment of the new government. It was cited as a representative speech uttered by a representative man; and it was applauded as the greatest intellectual monu-

ment erected by their statesmen during the progress of the war. As it will always retain an historical importance and significance, we may be permitted briefly to examine some of its leading positions.

Mr. Stephens commenced his oration by observing, in substance, that the preëminent and most valuable ingredient of the Southern Constitution was its admirable settlement of the whole subject of slavery, by which that vexed question was clearly defined and practically adjusted forever. He then proceeded to say that the founders of the Federal Government, Jefferson,<sup>f</sup> Hamilton, Madison and their associates, maintained the position that slavery was a violation of the laws of nature; that they believed it to be inherently wrong, socially, morally and politically; and that they indulged the hope that at some future time it would be wholly abolished and removed. This opinion, Mr. Stephens asserted, was false. The sages of the Revolutionary era were in error. Their views were limited, superficial, absurd. He had discovered that slavery is *not* a violation of the laws of nature; that it is not wrong, socially, morally or politically. Nor was it destined to be evanescent, and eventually to pass away.

Such was Mr. Stephens's bold and positive assertion. But where is the *proof* that the founders of the Federal Government on this point were in error? None whatever is adduced in this speech. Not a single argument is advanced by the orator to demonstrate it. He makes a simple and unsupported declaration to that effect. It then becomes a mere question of veracity and authority between A. H. Stephens on the one side, and those whose wisdom and sagacity he calls in question on the other. Either he is right, and Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and their associates were wrong; or their judgments were

correct and his erroneous. Mr. Stephens having placed the argument and the issue on this basis, thereby imposed upon his opponents the necessity of inquiring who possesses the greater weight of authority, he, or the Federal founders? The real question to be decided is: Will A. H. Stephens outweigh in the scales of authority the vast and powerful gravitation of those renowned sages, philosophers and statesmen? We imagine that he will not. In any instance in which he and they would be balanced against each other, his authority would be as the weight of a feather against the ponderosity of an Alp. Hence it was an act of weakness on his part to put the argument on that ground; and that weakness demonstrated the folly of those who applauded his speech in such extravagant terms. He makes an issue before the public, which issue an impartial public must, at a single glance, discover to be so overwhelmingly against him that an adverse decision of their judgments is instantly and inevitably extorted from them.

Mr. Stephens's second position was the most important, and also the most fallacious, contained in his speech. He asserted that the Southern Republic was based upon the great principle that the "negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition;" and he adds with exultation, that the new government "was the first in the history of the world based on that great physical, philosophical and moral truth." We will not deny that the latter part of this declaration may be true. The boundless and immeasurable absurdity of a professedly free government being based, and absolutely founded, on a despotic and tyrannical dogma such as the worst tyrants who ever trampled human rights in the dust, and defied

all laws human and divine would have approved and applauded; that monstrous contradiction we verily believe has never before been perpetrated by any race of rational beings. It is a glory belonging not to Turkish, or Russian, or Austrain autocrats, but to the enlightened statesmen of the Southern Confederacy alone!

But in itself considered this declaration of Mr. Stephens set forth first, a great falsehood, and second, if it were true, it was a most iniquitous and execrable principle on which to establish any government, and especially a government which called itself a Republic. We affirm that it is a false assertion that the negro is essentially and inherently an inferior race, as regards his natural, intellectual and moral capabilities of culture. That he has been made thus inferior, that he now is so, that he may for ages remain inferior is unquestionable. But that he would have been inferior if surrounded by the same elevating influences which the white races have enjoyed is not proved. If the negro be inferior in the United States to the white man, is that fact not to be attributed to the despotism and prejudice under which he has always lived? How could it be otherwise, when, from the day on which the race was transported hither to the present time, it has been fewer in numbers than the whites, destitute of means of improvement, ground into the dust by tyranny, enervated by degrading and exhausting labor, and their minds shut out by a stronger power from the genial influences of education, science, art, liberty and social improvement. It is evident that if the relative positions of the races had been exchanged, if the first inhabitants of the North American colonies had been free negroes, if a few whites of the lowest grade from Ireland, Germany, or England, had been



transported hither *as slaves*, and if they and their descendants had existed for several centuries precisely as negroes have lived during that interval, they would now occupy the same relative position in intelligence with regard to the rival race which the negroes do at the present hour.

The truth of this conjecture is demonstrated by the fact that, in cases where negroes have enjoyed favorable influences and opportunities, they have attained a degree of culture and intelligence very far in advance of the *status* of those negroes who are condemned to endure a life of bondage. This fact proves the capability of the race for improvement. It is useless to adduce many instances which go to illustrate that capability; because one solitary example would establish the truth of the position as well as hundreds; and with some such examples all men are familiar. But no absurdity is greater than the assertion that in the abstract, and by nature, when living under equally favorable influences, the negro is necessarily and normally inferior to the white race. It cannot be proved, because no case has ever existed in which an equal opportunity was afforded to a whole community of negroes; therefore no decision against their equality as a race can be derived with conclusive certainty from historical facts.

To meet the surprise and disgust with which Mr. Stephens justly suspected that this sentiment would be received, he proceeded to argue that this great truth which the Southern Republic had discovered and had made the corner-stone of its structure, might be very tardy in gaining the assent of mankind; but *that* fact would be no argument against its truthfulness, because other great and true principles had been equally slow in their diffusion, and yet had at last attained universal

supremacy over the convictions of men. Thus it was, said he, with the discoveries of Galileo in Astronomy, and with the principles of Adam Smith in Political Economy. It was no argument against the truthfulness of their doctrines, that it required a long lapse of time before the world appreciated and believed them. It would be so, he added, with this new discovery of the statesmen of the Southern Confederacy. But, unfortunately, the opposition of mankind to new doctrines is no evidence of their absolute truthfulness. If men have long opposed novelties founded in truth, they have also opposed novelties founded in error with equal obstinacy. Hence the opposition of men to new doctrines is no argument either way. If it were an argument to establish the excellence of a principle, then the opposition which has, during many years, resisted the claims of the Mormons to credibility, would be an evidence in favor of their veracity. To deduce the truth of any new dogma from the fact that men condemn and oppose it, is therefore a *non sequitur*.

This memorable argument of Mr. Stephens concluded, so far as the question of slavery was concerned, with the declaration that slavery, a condition of inferiority, was not only the natural and legitimate position of the negro, but that experience had also taught, "*that it was best for him.*" What a marvelous specimen of logical absurdity and fallacy is here? The negro is inferior, degraded and debased; therefore it is right to enslave him. But it is found by experience that slavery, which retains him in this inferior, degraded and debased condition, "is best for him." Therefore it is best for a certain race of men to remain inferior, degraded and debased. It is a legitimate inference which follows from this premise, that whatever is best for one race must be advantageous

for all races; hence, if it be best for the negro thus to be inferior, degraded and debased, it is also most desirable for all mankind so to be. Any government based on so monstrous and absurd a foundation, carries within its own bosom the elements of its inevitable destruction.

## CHAPTER V.

THE MISSION OF MR. YANCEY AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO EUROPE—THEIR REPRESENTATIONS TO THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH PEOPLE—EVENTS AT CHARLESTON—THE REBEL COMMISSIONERS AT WASHINGTON—THEIR ABSURD DEPORTMENT—GEN. BEAUREGARD DEMANDS THE SURRENDER OF FORT SUMTER—MAJOR ANDERSON RESPECTFULLY DECLINES—PREPARATIONS FOR THE BOMBARDMENT OF THE FORT—SIZE AND STRENGTH OF THE WORKS—SKETCH OF MAJOR ANDERSON—SKETCH OF GEN. BEAUREGARD—COMMENCEMENT OF THE BOMBARDMENT—HEROISM OF THE GARRISON—INCIDENTS OF THE FIRST DAY'S ATTACK—EVENTS OF THE ENSUING NIGHT—THE CONTINUANCE OF THE BOMBARDMENT DURING THE NEXT DAY—SUFFERINGS OF THE GARRISON—EX-SENATOR WIGFALL—A DEPUTATION FROM GEN. BEAUREGARD—PROPOSITIONS OF SURRENDER—THEY ARE ACCEPTED BY MAJOR ANDERSON—EXULTATION OF THE REBELS—WHY THE GARRISON WAS NOT REINFORCED—PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR LETCHER—PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

SOON after the organization of the Southern Confederacy, as has been already narrated, an important step was taken to obtain its recognition as an independent and established government by the leading sovereignties of Europe. A Commission was appointed to proceed to England and France, of whom William L. Yancey was the chief, whose duty it was to effect that desirable result. It is curious to note the grounds upon which success in this enterprise, the importance of which is admitted, and need not be discussed, was based by the Rebel cabinet and their emissaries.

It was urged in the South—and when the Commissioners arrived in Europe they repeated the same representations there—that the Union was irretrievably destroyed; that the seven seceding States would never



willingly return to the Federal Government; and that the idea of compelling them so to do was absurd and visionary in the extreme. It remained therefore to consider what the interests of England and France would be in reference to this new Government, whose separate and permanent existence should now be accepted as an unquestionable and inevitable fact. The Commissioners asserted that "*England must have cotton;*" and in that great overwhelming want lay the absolute necessity that she should recognize the new Government, and enter into a treaty of commerce with it. Nowhere else on the globe could this indispensable staple be produced in sufficient quantities, except in the Southern States. As soon as England perceived—as in a few months they asserted she would perceive—that thousands of her own manufacturing population were starving for the want of this commodity, her ships would force the blockade of the Southern ports, and recommence the trade which had been suspended. The Commissioners declared that the cotton crop for the summer of 1861 would be as abundant as usual, after making allowance for the greater proportion of corn and wheat which had been planted and sown. A potent motive would thus be offered to England to induce her to resume her commercial intercourse with the Southern States. And if this result occurred, it was highly proper and necessary that the formal recognition of the new Republic should have previously taken place.

The Commissioners furthermore urged, in their informal interviews with the English and French ministers, that the Seceding States, rather than return to the Federal Government, after all that had occurred to irritate and alienate them, would greatly prefer to become a colony of England or France. If they were unable to

maintain their separate attitude, rather than again become members of the Federal Union, they would be willing to descend to the humbler relation of dependants upon a royal or imperial sovereign. In that view it would be prudent, in the very beginning of the contest, for France and England to recognize the new republic; because by so doing, they would render the subsequent act of submission to either of their own monarchs more legitimate and binding. Strange and utterly false ideas were also set forth by the Commissioners in regard to slavery, as it existed in the Rebel States. They asserted that the opposition of the inhabitants of the North to that institution was based solely on the fact that, before Secession took place, the whole nation was held responsible for it in the eyes of the world; that as soon as the Southern Republic was recognized by European powers, whereby the stigma of slavery would be removed from the North, the latter would in no respect interfere with it, and it would never constitute any ground of future trouble or conflict between the two Governments. As a proof of this position, it was alleged that the black servants of the inhabitants of the West Indies, while sojourning in the Northern States, were never disturbed, nor were any efforts made to entice them from their masters. To overcome that repugnance which all intelligent Englishmen and many Frenchmen feel to slavery, it was urged that the existing slavery in the South was in reality a patriarchal institution; that the negro race flourished under it; that in 1808, when the foreign slave trade was abolished, there were but one million negroes in the slave States; that now, after half a century of experiment, the negroes have increased fourfold; and that when English and French statesmen closely examined the institution as it now exists, it would be found to be

not only profitable for the master, but also most advantageous for the slave.

While Mr. Yancey and his associates were zealously proclaiming and defending these questionable doctrines in England and France, and were oscillating between London and Paris with alternate hope and despair, important events were transpiring at Charleston. Until the 7th of April, 1861, friendly relations had existed to some extent between Major Anderson, in command of Fort Sumter, and the authorities of Charleston. Till then he had been permitted to obtain fresh provisions from the markets of the city; but on that day General Beauregard issued an order to the effect that no further intercourse would be allowed between the fort and the shore. He then sent a messenger to Major Anderson apprising him of that determination.

The immediate cause of this decision seemed to be, that the Commissioners who had been recently dispatched from the Rebel Government to Washington for the purpose of settling all questions in regard to rival interests, geographical boundaries, and other issues which necessarily resulted from the full and absolute withdrawal of the seceding States from the Union, sent word to the rebel President that all their efforts had proved abortive. Mr. Seward, on the part of the Administration of Mr. Lincoln, first refused their request for a private and unofficial interview. He then further informed them that it would be impossible for him, as Secretary of State for the United States, to hold any official intercourse with them whatever, to recognize them even as diplomatic agents of anybody; and he declined to appoint a day on which they might present the evidences of their authority and the purpose of their visit to the Federal Government. The Commissioners, Messrs. Forsyth of Alabama, and

Crawford of Georgia, received this intimation as an insult; flew into passion of the most approved Southern intensity, informed the rebel government at Montgomery of the treatment which they had received, and left Washington in high dudgeon. When the inhabitants of the seceding States received the intelligence of these events, they caught the general and infectious rage; a universal outburst of execration resounded over the South, and curses both loud and deep were heaped upon the head of the person who then occupied the White House, and who had thus dared to snub the Southern Chivalry.

Immediately after the occurrence of these events General Beauregard dispatched Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, his Aids-de-camp, to Major Anderson to demand of him formally the immediate surrender of Fort Sumter. To this polite requisition Major Anderson returned an equally courteous refusal. He declared that his sense of honor, and his obligations to his Government, would absolutely prevent his compliance with the demand. On the 12th of April, about 3 o'clock, A. M., a second deputation was sent by the rebel general to the commandant of the fort, who were commissioned to say, that, if the latter would designate the time, at some future, and perhaps even distant period, when it would suit his convenience, from want of provisions, or from any other sufficient reason, to abandon the works, they would give him the assurance that, in the meantime, he should not be fired upon. The reply of Major Anderson to this proposition was equally unsatisfactory to the deputation; who consequently left the fort, giving him the agreeable assurance that the batteries of Charleston would open on him within an hour.

And now the most startling and momentous event which had taken place since the commencement of the



rebellion was about to occur. For the first time since the foundation of the Federal Government, the alienated children of the once glorious Union commenced actual hostilities against each other; and brothers strove to stain their hands with fratricidal blood. Yet melancholy as was the spectacle which was now presented to the view of mankind, it exhibited at the same time some comical features, which might almost interject roars of laughter amid the groans of the wounded and the moans of the dying. At this very period, according to the statement of the *Charleston Mercury*—a journal which will not be suspected of injustice to their own side—there were seven thousand men under arms, and a hundred and forty pieces of heavy ordnance, which were more guns than Napoleon had at Waterloo, actually in position, and ready for use, in and around the harbor of Charleston; and this formidable armament was marshaled by the chivalrous and invincible State of South Carolina, in order to capture a fort garrisoned by seventy half-starved men!

The fortification which was about to become the scene of conflict, and around which the events and the interest of the whole rebellion were now to cluster, was named after Thomas Sumter of Revolutionary fame, and was one of the strongest and largest which had been erected by the Federal Government. In form Fort Sumter was a truncated pentagon, one of the five sides being parallel with the shore. On that side was the landing and entrance to the fort from a wharf which extended along the entire length of the fortress and projected toward the land. The height of the walls above the water line was sixty feet, and they were from eight to twelve feet in thickness. The whole number of guns mounted at the period of the attack was seventy-five, although the full armament was a hundred and forty. These were placed

in three tiers. The heaviest, consisting of thirty-two and sixty-four pounders, were arranged on the lowest tier. The guns next in size, being twenty-four pounders, frowned from the port holes of the second tier. From the lofty parapet thirteen-inch columbiads and heavy sea-coast mortars menaced the foe. In the area within the fort there were two furnaces for heating shot. On the eastern and western sides were the barracks and mess halls of the privates. On the southern side were the quarters of the officers. The magazines of powder were well supplied; the only deficiency under which the garrison labored was that of fuses, men and provisions.

The fortress was at this period under the command of Major Robert Anderson. This meritorious officer was born in 1810, and graduated with honor at West Point. His first important service was in the Black Hawk war, in which he behaved with gallantry. His superior merits are indicated by the fact that, in 1838, he was appointed assistant instructor and inspector at West Point. In the following year he published a work entitled "Instruction for Field Artillery, Horse and Foot; arranged for the Service of the United States." He was brevetted captain in April, 1838. He afterward was made assistant adjutant general. In March, 1848, he proceeded to Mexico with the Third Regiment of Artillery, and assisted in the siege of Vera Cruz. On that occasion he had command of one of the batteries. He accompanied General Scott in his triumphal march to the city of Mexico. For his gallant services in the war he was promoted to the brevet rank of major; and in October, 1857, received the position of major in the First Artillery. Throughout his whole military career Major Anderson had been remarkable for his bravery, coolness, general ability as a soldier, and his incorruptible integrity as a patriot.

The officer who commanded the rebel forces in Charleston, and who was about to conduct the assault upon the fort, was not unworthy, in some respects, to be the rival of so admirable a soldier. General Peter G. Toussaint Beauregard was a native of Louisiana, and was born in 1817. He was descended, on his mother's side, from Italian ancestors, who are said to trace their lineage to the illustrious ducal family of *Reggio*. He graduated at West Point with honor in 1838, and was immediately appointed to the corps of Engineers. In January, 1840, he obtained a first lieutenancy; and afterward served with distinction through the Mexican war. After the battle of Churubusco he was brevetted on the field as captain, for his gallant and meritorious conduct. After the conflict of Chapultepec he received a similar compliment, with the higher grade of major. His conduct during the entire war was distinguished for superior skill and fortitude; and he had already attained the reputation of possessing military talents of a high order. It would doubtless have been impossible for the President of the Southern Confederacy to have confided the important service of reducing Fort Sumter to more able and experienced hands.

Major Anderson had informed the deputation from Charleston, which waited upon him before daybreak on the 12th of April, that his provisions would be exhausted on the following Monday, the 15th of April. This information was given in an unofficial manner; and the communication was perfectly proper under the circumstances. Accordingly, when the chivalrous warriors of South Carolina commenced the bombardment of the fort, it was done with the perfect knowledge of the fact that the siege must end in its capture, if it were only continued for three days. In truth, the commandant would have been

compelled to evacuate at that period, whether attacked or not; or else starve to death. Therefore it is evident that the bombardment of the fort was in reality a complete farce, a mere dumb show of unnecessary, superfluous, ostentatious heroism. This important fact should be borne in mind when we contemplate the events which ensued, and the boundless boastings of the victors.

At length, on Friday morning, April 12th, at half-past four o'clock, the commencement of the attack was announced by the discharge of a single bombshell, which, after describing a graceful curve through the murky heavens, descended, and burst directly over the fort. The darkness of the early dawn was suddenly illumined, far and near, by the flashing meteor. The sound reverberated over the silent fort, over the watery waste, over the adjacent shores, and over the slumbering city, starting thousands from their repose, and announcing that the last act of the drama had commenced. Major Anderson instantly ordered the sentinels to descend from the parapets, the posterns to be closed, the stars and stripes to be unfurled from the summit of the flag-staff, and the men to remain within the bomb-proofs. After a short pause of preparation, the rebels commenced to fire upon Sumter from all directions, not only from the forts which had previously existed in the harbor, but also from those works which they had recently erected; from the iron masked batteries at Cumming's Point, at a distance of sixteen hundred yards; from the iron floating battery at the end of Sullivan's Island, distant two thousand yards; and from the enfilading batteries on Sullivan's Island and on Mount Pleasant. In consequence of the smallness of the garrison, Major Anderson did not return a single shot until his men had breakfasted, that they might husband their strength as much as possible.



At seven o'clock they were divided into three equal relief parties, with orders to work the batteries by turns for four hours each. Then old Sumter opened her iron mouths, and poured forth an indignant and contemptuous hail-storm of shot and shell upon her multitudinous assailants, which told that her ancient vigor had not degenerated. The garrison displayed the utmost enthusiasm in working the guns; and the several reserve parties could scarcely be restrained from service till their proper turns arrived. The first relief was commanded by Captain Doubleday, of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Snyder, of the Engineer corps. Their compliments were chiefly paid to Fort Moultrie, whose shattered embrasures soon testified to the superior skill and vigor of their gunnery.

The immense superiority of the rebel batteries in numbers soon began to tell effectively upon the fortress. Their fire was uninterrupted and vigorous. A deluge of shot poured into Sumter from every quarter at once; and the assailants must have been pigmies in warfare had they not been able to overpower the feeble garrison, and demolish the solitary fort. Loose brick and stone now flew in every direction; portions of the parapet were torn away; six of the guns were disabled; and it became certain death to undertake to work the barbette guns on the upper uncovered casement. About one o'clock, on Friday, the cartridges in the fort were exhausted; and a party was detailed to use the blankets and shirts in the magazines to supply the deficiency. At length a greater evil than the shot of the enemy began to assail the heroic garrison. During the first day of the siege the barracks caught fire three several times; and soon the fort was filled with smoke, which blinded the men and almost stifled them. By prodigious exer-

tions the fire was extinguished. In the meanwhile the guns were served with the same alacrity. The men—their faces begrimed with powder, the flames roaring within the works and apparently approaching nearer and nearer to the magazine, the batteries of the enemy reverberating from every quarter, and their red-hot shot exploding above, around and near them, without intermission—still worked with dauntless resolution, and the officers gave their orders with the utmost coolness. Amid such a pandemonium the darkness of night descended upon the scene; and Friday, the first day of the assault, closed.

But the fort was not yet reduced. During the night Major Anderson ordered his men to suspend their fire. Not so the assailants. Perfectly aware that after the third day the commandant must evacuate for want of provisions, they determined to make all the bluster and display possible; and hence they continued their useless and superfluous assault during the entire night. It was a grand spectacle for the populace of Charleston. Never before had they witnessed such an exhibition. Never before had there been such a display of sky-rockets, at the public expense, as was made during that night in Charleston harbor. Accordingly, the whole population were out. The wharves, and what is called the Battery, were filled with a delighted and astonished multitude, who gazed with mingled wonder and exultation at the countless shells as they described their symmetrical parabolas through the midnight heavens, and then descended upon the silent fortress. That, however, for the most part was a display merely intended to demonstrate the prowess and skill of the besiegers. Little damage was done during the night; Major Anderson

spent the interval in recruiting his men and preparing for the next day's work.

At length Saturday dawned, and Sumter began to respond to the fire of the enemy. The seven thousand Rebel troops who were assembled at the scene of conflict had not yet become exhausted; they still discharged their guns with uninterrupted regularity and frequency. Early in the day the barracks within the fort were set on fire for the fourth time; and it soon became evident that it would be impossible to extinguish the flames. No sooner would the exertions of the men succeed in suppressing the conflagration in one quarter, than the red-hot balls of the enemy would kindle them with fresh fury in another. Then it became necessary to remove the powder from the magazine. Ninety barrels were rolled through the very flames, wrapped in wet woollen blankets, to the port-holes, and thrown overboard. At last it was impossible to accomplish even this; and the doors of the magazine were closed and locked upon the remainder. And now the smoke became more stifling and insupportable than ever. The men were blinded and smothered beyond endurance. They could only breathe through wet cloths, and by lying on the ground. It is said that, at one moment, had not a propitious eddy of wind lifted the dense smoke from the area within the fortress, nearly all the garrison must have been suffocated. In such a situation there was yet no thought of surrender; but the guns of the fort could not be worked with the usual rapidity. They were fired slowly, only as fast as cartridges could be made in the darkness produced by the smoke, and merely to announce the fact to the assailants and to the admiring citizens that the fort had not yet been silenced.

Amid such scenes the hours of Saturday wore away.

The final catastrophe was rapidly approaching. Seven thousand valiant soldiers would not easily desist from the conquest of seventy men. Hence the attack was kept up more furiously during this day than on the preceding. A deluge of red-hot shot was still poured upon the shattered works; the fire within continued its unrestrained ravages; the smoke became more intense, and swelled high up into the heavens, a black rolling mass, which could be seen from afar above the fort; the main gate was battered down; the walls were full of breaches; and the towers had all been demolished. These were the results of the second day's assault, yet the stars and stripes still waved from the flag-staff; their graceful lines of beauty being occasionally visible, as the thick curtain of smoke would be wafted aside by the breeze. The sun was beginning to descend the western heavens, when ex-senator Wigfall suddenly and unaccountably presented himself at one of the embrasures, with a white flag tied to his sword. Such a spectacle, at such a time and place, at once attracted attention. Lieutenant Snyder immediately approached him, and demanded his business. He received for answer, that the stranger was no less a person than General Wigfall, who came from General Beauregard with an important message; and he desired to know why, the flag being down, the fort did not stop firing? The truth however was, that Wigfall had *not* come with any message from Beauregard, and that the flag was *not* down. Nevertheless a parley ensued, which amounted to nothing. The visitor then disappeared through the embrasure, and soon afterward a deputation arrived, consisting of Messrs. Chesnut, Pryor, Lee, and Miles, who had been sent by General Beauregard. They brought propositions of surrender, which Major Anderson approved and at once accepted. It was stipulated



between them, that the garrison should remove all their individual and company property; that they should march out with all their arms, at their own time, and in their own way; that they should salute their flag with the honors of war, and then take it away with them.

Thus was this memorable assault terminated. On Sunday morning, at half-past nine o'clock, the garrison withdrew, firing a salute of a hundred guns. They then embarked upon a transport furnished by the rebels; the patriotic strain of Yankee Doodle floating meanwhile upon the breeze. They were subsequently transferred to the "Baltic," and sailed for New York. It is superfluous to say that Major Anderson and his men behaved during the bombardment with the utmost gallantry and heroism. It would have been impossible to have defended the fort more ably, or to have surmounted the difficulties of their position more resolutely, than they had done. The fact that none were killed during the assault must be attributed to the precautions used by the commandant, who stationed a man at every port-hole who gave notice of the approach of shot or shell. President Lincoln subsequently expressed to Major Anderson, officially, his entire approval of the manner in which he had discharged his arduous duties on this occasion.

After the victory came the exultation, and it was such exultation as had never before convulsed the chivalrous South. Seven thousand men had conquered seventy men; and shouts of joy reverberated throughout the whole length and breadth of the rebel States. General Beauregard immediately issued a proclamation, in which he congratulated the troops under his command for their success; spoke of the great privations and hardships which they had endured in the conflict; and declared that

they "had exhibited the highest characteristics of tried soldiers." He took occasion also to thank his staff, the regulars, the volunteers, the militia, and the naval forces for the prodigious heroism and gallantry which they had exhibited.

Much surprise was expressed at the time that President Lincoln did not reinforce the garrison, and that surprise seemed founded in justice. But the Executive himself explained at a later period the reason of this apparent anomaly. That reason, which was amply sufficient, was briefly this: It was the opinion of the chief officers, both of the army and navy, at Washington, whom Mr. Lincoln consulted on the subject—and it was also the opinion of Major Anderson himself—that it would require twenty thousand men to defend the fort successfully, and that the possession of it was not really worth so great an expense and outlay of men and money. Accordingly the orders given to the commandant simply were, that he should vindicate the honor of his flag by making such a resistance as his resources enabled him to make, and then, if necessary, abandon the fort. This he would have done at any rate on the Monday after the attack, and thus would have saved South Carolina the half million dollars which her two days of empty glory cost her.

On the 17th of April Governor Letcher of Virginia issued a proclamation, in which he recognized the independence of the rebel States, and ordered that all armed volunteers, regiments and companies in Virginia should hold themselves in readiness for efficient service. On the same day the Convention, which had been summoned to discuss the policy of secession, passed an ordinance repealing the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by the State of Virginia, and resuming

all the rights and powers granted under said Constitution.

Immediately after these events President Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rebellion, and summoning the Federal Congress to meet at Washington on the ensuing fourth of July, 1861, in extraordinary session.

## CHAPTER VI.

ENTHUSIASM OF THE REBEL STATES—PROJECTED CONQUEST OF WASHINGTON—PROOFS THAT IT WAS CONTEMPLATED—WHY IT WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED—SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND FEDERAL TROOPS ORDERED OUT—DAVIS ISSUES LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL—PROCLAMATION OF GOV. LETCHER—SECESSION OF VIRGINIA—BLOCKADE OF THE SOUTHERN PORTS—ASPECT OF THE LOYAL STATES—FIRST IN THE FIELD—THE ATTACK ON FEDERAL TROOPS IN BALTIMORE—FURY OF THE REBEL MOB—RESULTS OF THE ATTACK—ITS INFAMY—THE FEDERAL FORTS ARE GARRISONED—SECESSION OF MISSOURI—RAPID MARCH OF FEDERAL TROOPS TO WASHINGTON—THE CHICAGO ZOUAVES—THE GALLANT ELLSWORTH—ORIGIN OF THE TERM ZOUAVE—HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ZOUAVES IN ALGERIA, IN THE CRIMEA, IN ITALY—THEIR PECULIAR CHARACTERISTICS—AMERICAN ZOUAVES.

THE fall of Sumter, together with the proclamation of President Lincoln summoning a large body of troops to convene at the Federal capital, which followed that event, appear to have inflamed the military ardor of the rebel States to a prodigious degree; and gorgeous visions of extensive conquests rose to their excited views. Prominent among these was the immediate attack and capture of Washington.

It has been seriously doubted whether the leaders of the secession movement ever really entertained that ambitious purpose, and especially at so early a stage of the Rebellion. It has been asserted that their views were always confined to the defence of the invaded territory of these States, which had become identified with the secession movement; and that the project of the threatened march on Washington was the sole product of the groundless terrors of the inhabitants of



the North. This supposition is erroneous. At the period of the bombardment of Fort Sumter, it was boldly asserted by the rebel leaders that their next movement, after the reduction of that fortress, would be the capture of the Federal capital. Mr. Walker, the Secretary of War to the rebel Government, declared on the 12th of April at Montgomery, that no man could prophesy where the war would end; but that he would predict that the flag of the Southern Confederacy would float in splendor over the dome of the capitol at Washington before the first day of May. He moreover warned the "hostile Yankees" that, if they were not careful how they insulted the chivalry of the South, they would ere long see that flag waving in defiant majesty over Faneuil Hall itself.

A similar sentiment was expressed at the same time by many of the leading journals of the South. The *Richmond Inquirer* declared that nothing was more probable than that President Davis would soon march a triumphant army through North Carolina and Virginia into Washington. The *Richmond Examiner* asserted that Washington was perfectly within the power of Maryland and Virginia, and added that the whole population of the South desired, with the utmost unanimity, the achievement of that enterprise. It was a singular fact that, when the troops of North Carolina proceeded to join the rebel camp in Virginia, it was with the express expectation that their destination was an immediate attack on the Federal Capital. Other Southern journals were still more sanguine. The *Millidgeville Recorder* endeavored to incite the rebel Government to immediate action; declared that the Confederate States must possess Washington; and insisted that it was folly to imagine that it could be permitted to remain any longer the headquarters of the "Lincoln Government." Southern pride

demanding that that city should not continue under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. The *Charleston Courier* asserted, on the 14th of April, that the desire to capture Washington increased every hour among the valiant and patriotic citizens of the South.

Similar authorities might be accumulated to a very large extent, to show how widely diffused and how intensely ardent this wish to possess the Federal city was throughout the Southern States. That the rebel armies, therefore, did not make the attempt, was evidently the result, not of a want of inclination, but of a want of ability; and it is equally plain that this achievement formed a prominent element in the colossal plan of resistance, disorganization and ruin, which their leaders conceived, and which they were able to some extent to realize.

Immediately after the proclamation of President Lincoln calling out seventy-five thousand men, the rebel Congress, then in session at Montgomery, authorized the raising of an additional force of thirty-two thousand men. Of this number, General Pillow declared that Tennessee alone would willingly furnish ten thousand. Alexander H. Stephens uttered the formidable boast that it would require seventy-five times seventy-five thousand soldiers to intimidate the South, and that even then "they would not stay intimidated." Jefferson Davis inflamed the warlike spirit of the rebels to a still intenser pitch by issuing, on the 17th of April, a Proclamation, in which he invited all those who might desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid the rebel Government in resisting what he termed a wanton and wicked aggression, to make application for letters of marque and reprisal, which would be issued under the seal of the Confederate States, and would be freely

granted to those who furnished the necessary securities for the observance of the laws of those States. The result of this proclamation was, that an eager host of thieves and pirates immediately sprang forward to obtain the benefit of the Proclamation, and enrich themselves by plundering under the cover of law and public justice.

The Legislature of Virginia was at this period in session. That ancient Commonwealth had long hesitated as to the policy which she would pursue in reference to Secession. Many potent considerations bound her to the old Union, with which all her most glorious and honorable associations were connected. But her present interests, and especially the identity of her sympathies with the South in reference to slavery, led her to cling to the faction of the Rebels. In addition to this, her people were greatly influenced by the intrigues of a number of detestable traitors, of whom Ex-Secretary Floyd was the chief, who were active in their efforts to alienate the minds of the people from the Union. On the 18th of April John Letcher, Governor of the State, issued a Proclamation, in which he declared that the action of Mr. Lincoln in calling for an armed force of seventy-five thousand men was in effect a declaration of war; that the President possessed no power to issue such a Proclamation; that Congress alone was competent to declare war; that therefore this act was illegal and unconstitutional; and that the General Assembly of that State having so pronounced it, he, the Governor, then and there ordered all the armed volunteers within the State to hold themselves in readiness to enter upon military duty against the threatened encroachments of the Federal Government. At the same period, the Convention which had been summoned for the purpose of determining whether the State would join the Southern

Confederacy or not, voted in favor of Secession. There were but seven members who opposed the measure, and four of those seven came from Western Virginia.

It had now become evident to the most obtuse and the most unwilling observer that the day of reconciliation had passed by; and that the Federal Government had no other alternative left, in order to vindicate its own honor and suppress the rebellion, than the adoption of the most stringent and hostile measures. The blockade of all the Southern ports was immediately ordered and immediately executed. The great steamship Niagara, the pride of the American Navy, was stationed off Charleston harbor, where her heavy guns and her gallant crew would effectually suspend the commerce of that city, the virulent hot-bed of Secession. The blockade of the Chesapeake was maintained by the steam frigate Minnesota, off Old Point Comfort; by the Dawn and the Yankee, off Fortress Monroe; by the Quaker City, off the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay; by the Montecello, off York river, by the Harriet Lane, off the mouth of James river. Other vessels were dispatched to Savannah, to Mobile, and to New Orleans, whose trade was effectually sealed and suspended by the terror of their guns.

At this period the loyal States presented to the eye of an observer a strange and unaccustomed spectacle. Their vast and rich domains, usually the scenes of peaceful pursuits, of manufacturing industry, of agricultural thrift, were now teeming with those incidents which are connected with warlike operations. The Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln summoning seventy-five thousand men to the field, infused into the nation a new spirit. That number of men which, in comparison with the more colossal requisitions of later times seems insignificant,



then appeared to be an enormous armament; and the business of recruiting, of arming, of drilling, so unfamiliar to our pacific eyes and ears, became visible and audible on every hand. In a very short time the necessary number were enlisted, and were ready to march to the Federal Capital.

The honor of having responded with commendable celerity to the Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, and of having been among the first in the field, belongs to a regiment of Massachusetts' volunteers, and to a body of troops collected and enlisted in Philadelphia by Colonel Small. On Friday, the 19th of April, these troops commenced their journey from that city. They filled thirty-six cars, and arrived without any accident or detention at Baltimore, on their way to Washington. The loyalty of the chief city of Maryland had been justly suspected; but no suspicions were entertained that the hostility of a portion of its inhabitants to the Union, would be developed in so violent and so tragical a manner as in the end occurred.

When the cars containing these troops arrived in Baltimore an immense assemblage had collected at the intersection of Gay and Pratt streets, for the purpose of making a hostile demonstration against them. The feelings which animated the crowd were readily ascertained and clearly apparent; nevertheless the Massachusetts troops, who occupied the cars in the advance, being well armed and well disciplined, boldly confronted the danger, defied their assailants, and pressed on through the city. The majority of them succeeded in effecting their passage before the rioters were able to barricade the railway track. This they effected by loading it with heavy anchors obtained in the vicinity. This movement intercepted the further progress of the Pennsylvania troops,

who, till this period, had remained in the cars. As they were without arms or equipments of any kind, they would have been unable to resist a hostile force much superior to themselves in numbers. After a period of uncertainty and suspense, however, they descended from the cars and formed in line in the street adjoining the dépôt. Then the order to advance was given. This forward movement was the signal for the attack of the mob—a vast assemblage, who filled the neighboring streets and spaces, at whose front was borne a Confederate flag. They discharged a volley of stones at the troops, which compelled the head of the column to fall back. Gradually the attack became more general; and those among the soldiers who were provided with arms, discharged them in self-defence. But the number of these was comparatively small; and soon a deluge of stones and the discharge of pistols and guns from the crowd, assailed the defenceless troops. The latter, after a short interval of hand-to hand combats, were collected together in a train of cars, an engine was attached, and their return toward Philadelphia was commenced. A number had been wounded, several killed, and a still greater proportion were scattered during the *mêlée*. The latter afterward effected their escape with considerable delay and difficulty. The fact that the soldiers were without uniforms, which the regiment expected to procure, together with arms, at Washington, enabled many to elude the fury of the populace who would otherwise have become their victims. This attack on unarmed men engaged in so noble a service, by the inhabitants of a prominent city of the Union, was one of the most despicable acts recorded in the annals of a war, so profusely disgraced as this became, by innumerable deeds of infamy, treachery and cruelty.

The nation was surprised and alarmed by this unexpected display of treasonable sentiments at Baltimore; and the immediate effect was to spread the flame of patriotic ardor more widely, and induce the administration at Washington to adopt more active measures. Forts McHenry, Monroe, and Pickens were quickly furnished with stronger garrisons; and camps of instruction were formed in various places for the purpose of drilling those troops who, in answer to the President's Proclamation, had devoted themselves to the service of their country. It soon became evident that a much greater number of these men were ready to respond to the appeal than had been called for; and the large number of regiments which arrived successively at Washington, removed all apprehensions in regard to the immediate safety of that city from the minds of the President and his cabinet.

On the 3d of May 1861, the Legislature of Missouri convened, and a message was received by them from the Chief Magistrate of the State. In that document Governor Claiborne Jackson declared that Mr. Lincoln, by calling out troops for the purpose of subduing the secession movement, had committed an unconstitutional and illegal act. He proceeded to defend the right of secession; and maintained that the proceedings of the States which had withdrawn from the Union had been performed in the exercise of an undoubted right; that the interests of Missouri were identical with the other slaveholding States; and that the similarity of their social and political institutions clearly demonstrated that it was the duty of Missouri, at the proper time, to follow their example. He concluded by recommending that the Legislature should make such appropriations as would enable the State authorities to resist any attempt which might

be made by the Federal Government to enforce the Federal laws. This message was the commencement and cause of that long series of desperate and bloody events which afterward occurred in Missouri in connection with the Southern Rebellion, and which increased in importance as time progressed.

Among the large number of troops which the Proclamation of President Lincoln drew forth for the defence of the Union, there was one peculiar class of soldiers, whose name, whose discipline, and whose history constitute one of the military novelties of the present age. A year before the outbreak of the rebellion, the American public were surprised and gratified by the appearance and martial drill of a corps of men, organized in Chicago, calling themselves Zouaves. The term was new and harsh to the majority of Americans; but to those who were familiar with the military events of recent times in Europe and Africa, it conveyed a startling and impressive meaning. The Chicago Zouaves were commanded by a youth of no ordinary spirit and ability; and the inhabitants of the principal cities of the Union admired, and with justice praised, the peculiar qualities and the soldier-like virtues of the gallant Ellsworth. When the rebellion elicited the Proclamation of the President, the Chicago Zouaves did not tender their services to the country in a body, but their commander obtained in New York suitable materials for another corps, which he drilled in the old method, and upon whom he conferred much of the old exactitude and perfection. This corps now marched to Washington under the orders of Ellsworth. As this peculiar arm of the service was a novelty in its way—as the origin, the history, and the achievements of the European Zouaves, after whom they were named and modelled, are a topic of no ordinary interest—



we will here briefly digress from the direct current of events, and introduce an episode in reference to that subject.

What the Tenth Legion was to Cæsar, what the Janizaries were to the Sultans, what the Imperial Guard was to Napoleon I., that the Zouaves proved to be, both to Louis Philippe and to Napoleon III. The word Zouave was derived or corrupted from the Arabic *Zawawah*, which is the name of a tribe of Kabyles in the province of Algiers. These people have resided for generations in the most remote and mountainous portions of the Jurjura; and were remarkable for their superior industry, their bravery, and their love of freedom. They were of Arab descent, and they alone, of all the inhabitants of Algeria, had never been completely subjugated by the Turkish power. After the invasion of Algeria by the French, it became necessary for the security and permanency of their authority that a large and formidable force should be constantly maintained under arms in that province. Already had the Zawawah contingent in the Algerian army become distinguished for their superior qualities as soldiers, for their excellent discipline, their desperate courage, their willingness to endure privation and suffering in the execution of the most difficult and dangerous commissions.

In July, 1830, Louis Philippe appointed Marshal Clausel Governor of Algeria; and that officer determined to organize a native corps of cavalry and infantry as one of the first acts of his administration. By a decree bearing date October 1, 1830, he created two battalions, to be composed of such materials; and as the martial fame of the Zawawahs already stood high, he took care that the greater proportion of these new troops should be composed of them. But natives of all sorts were

admitted into their ranks, without any distinction of origin, religion, or race: inhabitants of the mountains, and dwellers on the plains, Kabyles, Arabs, Negroes, Turks; and thus it was that this heterogeneous corps, to whom the name of Zouaves was then applied, obtained that anomalous, rude, and ferocious character, which has ever distinguished them. Together with the savage qualities which they possessed as natives, they soon combined that military efficiency which was derived from their being drilled by the best French officers. Some of the most eminent generals in the French service were connected, at an early period of their career, with this remarkable corps. One of their first commanders was Lamoriciere, who afterward became illustrious. Subsequently they were led to battle by Cavaignac; then by St. Arnaud, and later still, by Baraquay d'Hilliers and Bosquet.

The Zouaves of Algeria distinguished themselves in many of those bloody conflicts which attended the subjugation of the Arab tribes, who, under the heroic Abdel Kader, endeavored to rescue their country from the tyranny of its French invaders. Scarcely six weeks had elapsed after their organization as a separate corps, when they took part in the famous expedition against Medeah, under Marshal Clausel. The French on this occasion were compelled to retreat; and nothing saved them from being cut to pieces in a narrow defile except the dauntless courage of the Zouaves, who, passing to the rear, set up their hideous war shouts, fell upon the victorious Kabyles with the ferocity of tigers, and hewed them to the earth. This achievement at once gave them an honorable fame and position in the French army. In every subsequent service of danger, in every expedition of difficulty, they were ordered to take part; and on all

occasions they behaved with a degree of valor which won for them the confidence and admiration of their foreign masters. Their drill was remarkable for its precision and energy; and their costume, which was a singular mixture of Oriental dress with French colors, contributed to render them still more unique and extraordinary. A portion of that activity in which they excelled all the French soldiers in Algeria, was to be attributed to the convenience and freedom of their dress. It gave ample room for the use of the limbs, and was utterly unlike the usual attire of European and American soldiers, by which the body is so squeezed, hampered and choked, as to render ease and vigor of movement almost impossible.

The Zouaves took part in the expeditions against Oran in 1835, and against Mouznia in 1836. They especially distinguished themselves at the siege of Constantine, where they led the first column of assault and greatly contributed to the victory. In all the conflicts in 1843 and 1844, which took place between the French and Abdel Kader, the Zouaves held a conspicuous place. Their peculiar habits fitted them admirably to resist and to vanquish the Arab soldiery. At the capture of Smalah, and especially at the famous battle of Isly, they fought with a heroism which received, as it richly deserved, the enthusiastic plaudits of their more civilized masters.

After the submission of Abdel Kader in 1847, there remained little opportunity in Algeria for the display of the peculiar qualities of the Zouaves. Their chief service then consisted in maintaining garrisons for the French in remote and dangerous positions, exposed to the sudden attacks of the conquered Arabs. In 1852 their corps were reorganized; they were armed with rifles; and

another regiment was added to their numbers, thus making three regiments, each consisting of three battalions. Then at length they were transferred from their native soil to that of France. The fame of their heroism, so strangely united with ferocity, preceded them; and they were everywhere the objects of curiosity not unmingled with fear. In 1854, when the war in the Crimea commenced, they proceeded with the French forces to the East. The bloody struggles of Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and Sevastopol, witnessed their extraordinary qualities; and in the more recent war in Italy they maintained their ancient fame by prodigious displays of their ancient valor.



## CHAPTER VII.

THE SECESSION OF TENNESSEE—PARSON BROWNLOW—DECLARATION OF WAR BY THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—SKIRMISH NEAR ST. LOUIS—SECESSION ELEMENT IN BALTIMORE—FORT MCHENRY—SECESSION OF NORTH CAROLINA—ADJOURNMENT OF THE REBEL CONGRESS TO CONVENE AT RICHMOND—ASSEMBLY OF FEDERAL TROOPS AT WASHINGTON—THE OCCUPATION OF ALEXANDRIA—ASSASSINATION OF COLONEL ELLSWORTH—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—HIS LIFE IN CHICAGO—FAMOUS TOUR OF THE CHICAGO ZOUAVES—ELLSWORTH'S MILITARY TASTES AND TALENTS—HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND CHARACTERISTICS—HIS PECULIARITIES AS A SPEAKER—HE ORGANIZES THE NEW YORK FIRE ZOUAVES—HIS DEATH A LOSS TO THE CAUSE OF THE UNION—GENERAL ROBERT PATTERSON'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA—CROSSING THE POTOMAC AT WILLIAMSPORT—BATTLE OF FALLING WATERS—PURSUIT OF THE ENEMY TO HAINSVILLE—TO MARTINSBURG—THE MARCH TO BUNKER HILL—TO CHARLESTOWN—OCCUPATION OF HARPER'S FERRY—RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

ON the 6th of May, 1861, another defection took place among the States of the Union, and another member was added to the cluster of apostate communities. On that day the Legislature of Tennessee passed the ordinance of secession, and adopted the terms of an alliance with the Confederate States. The instrument by which this act was accomplished was absurdly called a "Declaration of Independence;" and it set forth, as all its predecessors had in substance set forth, that the citizens of that State maintained the right of every free and independent people, to alter or abolish their form of government as they pleased; and that, in the exercise of this right, they, of Tennessee, ordained and declared that all laws which had heretofore constituted the State a member of the

Federal Union, were thereby abrogated and annulled; and that henceforth the State should become, what they had indeed immediately before declared it had always previously been, "a free, sovereign and independent community." The announcement of this event elicited various and opposite expressions of sentiment throughout Tennessee, for a large Union element existed among her population. Parson Brownlow, the well-known editor of the *Knoxville Whig*, gave utterance to his indignation in terms extremely forcible and appropriate, in a torrent of invective which immediately afterward graced his journal. He stigmatized the act of secession as "a black deed," perpetrated by traitors who had taken a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States; and he affirmed that the ordinance itself was unconstitutional, unjustifiable, "a vile act of usurpation." He characterized the agents of the movement as "unprincipled politicians;" and for this resolute and patriotic conduct he afterward became the victim of the vengeance of the rebel authorities.

On the 7th of May the Congress of the Confederate States convened at Montgomery, passed an act by which that important body recognized and declared the existence of war with the United States; and affirmed that hostilities had been begun against them by Abraham Lincoln, which it was their duty to resist and to suppress. The falsehood of this assertion stands out so plainly on the face and front of it, that none except rebels and traitors could be so blind as not readily to detect it.

It was in the State of Missouri that the warlike elements of the two parties first came into active collision. On the 10th of May a brigade of the militia of that State, commanded by General Frost, encamped on the western outskirts of St. Louis, and defied the forces of the Federal

Government. The latter were then under the orders of Captain Lyon; who, before running the hazards of a battle against superior numbers, wisely resolved to try the effect upon the rebels of a formal demand to surrender. That demand was made, accompanied by the assurance that those who laid down their arms should be treated with humanity. The gallant Frost immediately complied with this requisition. Eight hundred men became prisoners of war, and were escorted into the city of St. Louis by the Federal troops. During this march an unfortunate conflict took place between the latter and a portion of the populace, in which about twenty persons in the crowd were killed. The captive State troops were afterward released on parole, having taken the oath not to serve again against the United States. Their officers, their camp equipage, their artillery, and their ammunition, were retained. These events formed the prelude to other and more important events, which subsequently occurred in that distant portion of the Union.

Meanwhile the proclamation of President Lincoln calling out seventy-five thousand troops for three months, had been responded to throughout all the loyal States. Thousands of men volunteered, whose superfluous services could not be accepted. The largest proportion of troops was required from New York and Pennsylvania; from the former eleven regiments, from the latter ten, were demanded. By the 15th of May Baltimore was occupied by a numerous Federal force commanded by General Butler. The secession element was still vigorous in that city, and it was strengthened from day to day by the treasonable conduct and influence of Marshal Kane, the head of the police force. Fortunately, Fort McHenry, which commands the city of Baltimore, was

well provided with artillery, men and stores, and was in the possession of Federal officers. Its formidable guns, which in an hour might render the city a smouldering ruin, produced a beneficial effect in suppressing the treasonable spirit of rebellion.

On the 21st of May the State of North Carolina consummated her misfortune and disgrace by seceding from the Federal Government and uniting with the Southern Confederacy. She was the last in the order of time to perpetrate this ignominious deed. Eleven States had preceded her—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Virginia and Tennessee. Immediately after receiving official notice of the defection of North Carolina, the Congress at Montgomery adjourned—greatly elated by the success of their operations—to convene at Richmond on the 20th of July ensuing.

By the 20th of May the Federal Government possessed the number of troops called for by the proclamation of the President; and was prepared to commence active operations against the rebels, and invade their territory. The several loyal States had responded with alacrity to the requisition of the Chief Magistrate; and the soldiers who assembled at Washington, as well as those who occupied several positions in Maryland and Virginia, were eager to meet the enemy. On the 23d, the order was given to advance from the Federal Capital to those regiments which had been selected to perform this service. The purpose of the movement was to take possession of Alexandria, on the opposite side of the Potomac, and attack and dislodge any rebel force which might have been posted on Arlington Heights. Eight thousand infantry, two companies of cavalry, and two sections of Sherman's artillery battalion, crossed the



Long Bridge, under the command of General Mansfield. Four New New York regiments, which had been quartered at Georgetown, proceeded at the same time over the Chain Bridge, under the orders of General McDowell. The New York Zouaves embarked on board the "Baltimore" and "Mount Vernon," and proceeding down the Potomac, reached Alexandria at five o'clock in the morning. At six they landed, and formed in line upon the dock.

The main body of the Federal troops entered Alexandria at the same time. The first Michigan regiment immediately advanced to the railroad depot and took possession of it. They also surprised and captured a troop of rebel cavalry numbering one hundred. The Zouaves, commanded by Ellsworth, proceeded at once to active service, and commenced by destroying the railroad track to Richmond. Their next aim was to take possession of the telegraph office, and intercept its connection with the rebel camp. Ellsworth now led the way, but his gallant career was destined to be of short duration. It had been written in the mysterious book of fate, that his should be one of those brilliant but transient lives, which, while they elicit the admiration of men, will forever be attended by emotions of regret. As the Zouaves were advancing in double quick time up the street, Ellsworth observed a secession flag waving from the summit of the Marshal House, a prominent hotel of the place. To such a man such a spectacle could not be other than most offensive, and as his fearless eye gazed upon the floating emblem, he impulsively exclaimed, "That flag must come down!" Accompanied by a few privates he rushed into the house, ascended to the roof, eagerly cut down the flag, and taking possession of it, commenced his descent. He was met in the hall by Jackson, the

enraged proprietor of the house, who, armed with a double-barreled gun, leveled it at Ellsworth, and discharged it. The instrument of death was but too well aimed. Its contents entered the body of Ellsworth, between the third and fifth ribs, and tore his vitals with destructive force. He fell, attempted to open his dress and to staunch the flowing blood; but rapidly the pallor of death spread over his features, his hands became powerless, he sank upon the floor, gasped for breath, and quickly expired. Before this event occurred his assassin had himself been slain; for a private named Brownell, who had accompanied Ellsworth to the roof, the moment after his commander was shot, leveled his musket at Jackson and discharged it. The rebel and the fallen hero died at the same moment, under the same roof, within a few feet of each other. The body of the former was soon riddled with balls by the frantic Zouaves, and his brains scattered over the scene of his crime and his punishment. The remains of Ellsworth were subsequently conveyed to Washington to be embalmed.

Immediately afterward the Federal troops occupied Alexandria without further opposition. A portion of the population, apprehensive of a hostile invasion, had previously deserted the town. The seventh New York regiment, with others, took possession of Arlington Heights. They met no resistance or interruption in the execution of this task, and they commenced to throw up intrenchments. Three thousand men were constantly employed in the works. General McDowell retained the command of all the troops which were placed beyond the Potomac, and superintended the necessary operations.

It is usual when a popular favorite passes away, for his admirers to magnify and exaggerate his merits to such an absurd and extravagant degree that, could he

return to life again, it would be impossible for him to recognize his own portrait in their delineations; and were he honest he would exclaim with astonishment, that he was not himself aware that he had ever been so wise or so good, or so great a man. This declaration, which applies with truth to nine tenths of those whom mankind blindly but often unanimously agree to applaud, was *not* applicable to the case of Ellsworth. The report of his death was the signal for the outburst of such a deluge of regret and praise, as has rarely been accumulated upon the memory and the grave of any departed hero; but he really deserved it. He was in many respects, though young, a remarkable man, possessed of rare qualities, and adorned by great virtues.

Elmer E. Ellsworth was a native of Massachusetts, and at the period of his death was about twenty-six years of age. In his youth his father suffered serious reverses in business; and thus he was thrown upon his own resources, and initiated into a career of privation and toil, which commenced almost with his boyhood. The hope of finding a more congenial and facile field for pushing his fortunes induced him, as it has induced thousands of other aspiring and generous spirits, to journey westward; and in 1852 he reached Chicago, at that time the rising commercial metropolis of the West. But he was destitute of money and friends, without any profession or trade, and his first experiences of stern life in his new abode were sufficiently dark and cheerless. But he possessed the inestimable boons of health, youth and hope, and with the aid of these he soon acquired friends, and hewed out for himself an honorable name and a means of living. His pursuits from time to time were somewhat diversified. At one period he commenced the study of law in the office of Mr. Lincoln, at Springfield.

He had always felt a great fondness for military life, but no scope had yet been afforded to his martial aspirations.

When the exploits of the French Zouaves at Sevastopol excited the surprise and admiration of the world, they kindled the kindred sympathy and ardor of Ellsworth. He studied the principles and peculiarities of their drill with intense interest, and conceived the design of raising from the large circle of friends whom he had acquired among the young men of Chicago, a company who should imitate, and perhaps even emulate, the perfection of the genuine Zouave drill. He succeeded in his purpose; many of the most estimable and admirable youths of that city joined his company, and some months were spent by them and their young captain in laborious and assiduous drilling. At length Ellsworth found the grand conception which he had formed realized.\* The Chicago Zouaves, under his guidance, attained a degree of exactitude and skill in the manual of arms, such as had never before been seen in America, and which perhaps could be found alone in Europe among the genuine Zouaves from Algiers.

It was very natural that Ellsworth should be proud of his handiwork, and that he should desire to exhibit to the world how much could be accomplished by industry and perseverance in that department of mental and physical effort. He published a respectful challenge to the military corps in the United States, inviting them to a trial of skill. Soon afterward, that memorable tour was made by him and his associates, through the chief cities and towns of the United States, which formed one of the most extraordinary military events of this age. But it should not be imagined that this famous expedition was undertaken simply for the purpose of display. In all that Ellsworth did—such was the inherent nobility



and elevation of his nature—there was a lofty and noble aim. The chief design, therefore, of that journey was to show, by a plain and practical example, how superior scientific drilling was in giving efficiency and power to the soldier, to the ordinary method; to illustrate what the great principle of military training should be, a principle of which not one commander or soldier in a thousand had the slightest conception, namely, that a perfect identity of spirit and feeling should exist, for the time being, between the commanding officer and those to whom his orders are given; as also to illustrate how the true soldier should inure himself to bodily fatigue and self-denial; how the accomplished soldier will also become an accomplished gymnast; and how, as much as any thing else, temperance in eating and drinking is not only promotive of bodily health and vigor, but is absolutely indispensable to it.

It was during the progress of this expedition that another remarkable quality of Ellsworth was revealed to the admiring public. This was his extraordinary power over the minds of his associates. He possessed that faculty in a high degree, which is always an element of intellectual greatness—the faculty of controlling the wills of others around him. There was also an originality, we may even say grandeur and dignity, in his manner, his voice, his whole person, while engaged in the process of drilling, which was a triumph of martial genius and beauty. At his first word of command, uttered by a voice singularly manly but melodious, with an accent remarkably firm and crisp, every eye brightened, every head became erect, each man instantly became himself, in all his physical and mental fullness; and then followed such a display of skill and precision in the most elaborate and difficult species of drill known to the profession

of arms, as was rarely witnessed. Though not large in person, Ellsworth exhibited as much graceful sublimity and physical grandeur in a field exercise, as any orator could display in the midst of his most imposing and impassioned flight of eloquence. Nor will this result appear anomalous when we remember the masterly thoughts which lay at the foundation of his military system. When he commenced his training of the Chicago Zouaves, he trained himself with a degree of rigor which was astonishing. He practiced the manual of arms with so much industry, that he became one of the best marksmen and ablest swordsmen in America. He investigated the theory of every motion with particular reference to the principles of anatomical science; and so arranged each movement that it became the logical and legitimate groundwork of the one which succeeded it. Thus it was that he introduced a sort of scientific unity and harmony into the manual of arms which had not before existed in it. This was the stroke of a master; this, the indication and the presence of superior, creative genius—a genius similar in nature to that which the young Napoleon exhibited when, to the horror of all the military drones and fossils of Europe, he not only constantly vanquished the Austrians in Italy, but vanquished them in utter defiance of the established and immemorial usages of the military art. So far had Ellsworth trained himself, in order that he might successfully train others, that a photograph of his naked arm, taken at the period of his visit to Philadelphia, was a model of anatomical and physical beauty; it was an arm whose formidable accumulation of muscles and sinews, and whose faultless proportion of outline presented such a picture as Michael Angelo or Rubens would have painted, when representing on canvas the

ancient Greek conception of the forms of Hector or Hercules.

After the return of the Chicago Zouaves to that city, Ellsworth engaged with zeal in the Presidential campaign which ensued; and strange as it may appear, this youth, so richly gifted as a soldier, proved himself as highly endowed for another sphere. He distinguished himself as one of the most effective and popular of the orators, who, in the State of Illinois, advocated the claims of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency. As a speaker he was peculiar for his strong, clear sense, mixed with a degree of wit and repartee such as few orators possess. After the termination of the campaign, and when the war-clouds began to darken the political horizon, and roll up with portentous gloom from the rebellious South, he tendered his services to the new President. He then proceeded to the city of New York in order to select, from the numerous body of firemen in that city, the materials for an entire regiment of Zouaves. Having obtained these, he removed to Fort Hamilton for the purpose of drilling. After his new recruits had become partially fit for service, through his untiring labors, he proceeded with them to Washington. Their subsequent career is involved in the history of the events which ensued in the vicinity of the Federal Capital. Had this gallant young commander survived to take part in the battle of Bull Run, it is not improbable that the presence and influence of his dauntless courage on the field, might have diminished, though it could not have averted, the horrors and the ignominy of that struggle.

It is proper that at this stage of our history, we should narrate the chief incidents connected with the three months campaign of the Federal forces in Virginia, under the command of General Robert Patterson. On the 30th of

June, 1861, the different brigades comprising the division were consolidated into one body, preparatory to their crossing the Potomac. Two enterprises of importance to the Federal cause, were assigned by popular opinion and popular wishes, to this portion of the Union forces. The first was the expulsion of the Rebels under Johnston from Harper's Ferry; the second was intercepting the march of that general to Manassas, and preventing the junction of his troops with those commanded by General Beauregard. Neither of these purposes was ultimately accomplished. When the Union forces, nearly twenty thousand strong, began to move toward Virginia, instead of advancing directly to Harper's Ferry, for the achievement of the first of these enterprises, the route taken was toward Williamsport. The enemy were left in undisturbed possession of Harper's Ferry, until, at a later period, when the Rebel generals perceived the greater importance of concentrating their forces at Manassas, General Johnston evacuated the place, having previously destroyed a vast amount of Federal property, and the public works erected there. After its evacuation, General Patterson, instead of intercepting, if his force were sufficiently large for that purpose, the march of Johnston toward Manassas, proceeded to occupy the deserted and desolate town; and entered it on the very day on which the battle of Manassas was fought, and by the very road on which the Rebel general had marched from it. It was thus that neither of the enterprises anticipated by the popular will was achieved by the division of General Patterson.

It was on the 2d of July, that his troops crossed the Potomac by the ford at Williamsport. The process began at dawn of day, and continued until near nightfall. Before the fording commenced, a skirmish took place



between the Federal pickets, which had been thrown over the river on the preceding day, and the Berkley Border Guard. General Abercrombie's brigade were in the advance of the Federal forces; and having crossed the Potomac, they continued their march on the turnpike leading from Williamsport to Martinsburg, across the neck of land which is formed by the bend of the river, which takes place at that point. The pickets of the enemy were first seen at Falling Waters, five miles distant from Williamsport. They retired, and about a mile beyond, the encounter took place which has been designated as the battle of Falling Waters. This imposing title was applied to a small but pretty stream, whose limpid waters flow over a mill-dam, and perform the useful function of filling the race, which turns the wheels of a solitary grist mill. It was situated a short distance from the Potomac. The skirmish which ensued was sustained on the Federal side by a portion of Abercrombie's brigade, consisting of the eleventh Pennsylvania and first Wisconsin regiments, McMullen's Independent Rangers, the Philadelphia City Troop, and Perkins' battery of six guns. After a short but spirited engagement the Rebels were routed, and were pursued for the distance of two miles as far as the village of Hainesville. The rear guard of the enemy were about being captured, when orders arrived from General Patterson to stop the pursuit. Both the battle and the chase occupied nearly two hours. The Rebels were commanded by Colonel, afterward General, Jackson; and his forces in the action comprised an entire brigade. The Federal troops then proceeded to encamp; and occupied the position which Jackson had deserted. On the next day they advanced to Martinsburg, which the enemy evacuated at their approach, and it was thus occupied without opposition.

The Federal loss at Falling Waters was insignificant, being two killed and five wounded.

After a delay of nearly two weeks at Martinsburg, by which means the period of the enlistment of the Federal troops was very sensibly diminished, General Patterson again commenced to move. On the 15th of July the march began toward Winchester. Nearly the whole division proceeded as far as Bunker Hill, ten miles from Martinsburg, before nightfall. At Bunker Hill a small body of Rebels had been encamped, who retreated as the Federal troops approached. At this place, which is twelve miles distant from Winchester, the Federals remained for two days. Here the pickets of the armies of Johnston and Patterson were often within hailing distance of each other. On the 17th of July the march was resumed by General Patterson before daylight, and the advance toward Winchester was continued; but before his rear guard had entirely descended the sides of Bunker Hill, or had reached the road which led to Winchester, a counter march was ordered, the route to that town was abandoned, and the whole division proceeded twelve miles eastward. By this *détour* Winchester was left on the flank, and a wide area was opened by which General Johnston might transport his troops at any moment, and with perfect safety, toward Manassas. The Federal forces were placed in camp at Charlestown; and as soon as Johnston became assured that this flank movement was not intended to operate against him, and that there was no danger that he would be attacked in his entrenchments at Winchester, he left a small detachment to occupy them, and hastened to Manassas. After remaining four days at Charlestown, General Patterson enlarged the space between himself and the enemy, by proceeding to Harper's Ferry, which had been evacuated and

burned by the Rebels some time previous. Soon after this date the term of the enlistment of the Federal troops, as well as the period of the appointment of General Patterson as their commander, expired; and thus the first army of the Potomac dissolved and vanished from view. If the men and the officers who composed this army had not achieved any result of importance to the cause of the Union, if they had not gained any victory of consequence over the forces of the enemy, it was not from the want of valor or patriotism on their part; for on every occasion on which they were permitted to encounter the Rebels, or to exhibit the spirit which actuated them, they displayed the coolness and bravery of veterans, the zeal and ardor of patriots.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE ENCOUNTERS WITH THE REBEL TROOPS AT FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE, AT ACQUIA CREEK, AT ROMNEY, AT PHILIPPI—GALLANTRY OF COLONEL KELLEY—BATTLE OF GREAT BETHEL—CAUSES OF THE DISASTER—GENERAL PIERCE—DEATH OF LIEUTENANT GREBLE—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—UNION SENTIMENT IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—THE NEW STATE OF KANAWHA—HARPER'S FERRY DEVASTATED BY THE REBELS—THE OHIO TROOPS FIRED ON NEAR VIENNA—RESULTS OF THE ATTACK—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL MCCLELLAN IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—HIS ADMIRABLE PLANS—THE BATTLE OF RICH MOUNTAIN—GENERAL GARNETT—COLONEL ROSECRANZ—RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—SKETCH OF GENERAL MCCLELLAN—HIS CONDUCT DURING THE MEXICAN WAR—HIS RECONNOISSANCE OF THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS—HIS SECRET MISSION TO THE WEST INDIES—HIS JOURNEY TO THE CRIMEA—HIS OFFICIAL REPORT AS COMMISSIONER—HIS SUBSEQUENT MOVEMENTS—HE BECOMES COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF OHIO

MANY incidents occur during the progress of a conflict like that against the rebels of the South, which excite intense interest, and which are in themselves not entirely destitute of importance at the period of their occurrence, but which, after the lapse of time, and when they are considered in connection with the grand current of events, necessarily become of trivial and inferior consequence. Among such incidents it is proper here to enumerate the different skirmishes which took place between the detachments of Federal and Rebel troops at Fairfax Court House, at Acquia Creek, at the village of Romney, and at Philippi in Western Virginia. At Romney a rebel camp had been formed. Colonel Wallace, who commanded one of the Indiana regiments, marched from Cumberland to Hampshire county and



attacked the troops collected there. The Rebels were surprised by the movement and completely routed; their camp equipage, their provisions and their arms were captured; and a decisive reverse inflicted on them by the bravery of Colonel Wallace and his men. A similar contest attended by a similar result took place at Philippi. The assault upon the enemy who held possession of that town, was led in person with great gallantry by Colonel Kelley. The Rebels were defeated and expelled from their position. The most important incident connected with this engagement was the wounding of the commanding officer, who was shot in the breast. The wound was at first regarded as mortal; but Colonel Kelley eventually recovered, to resume active service in defence of the Union, and to receive the rank of brigadier general, to which his merits fully entitled him.

The first serious disaster to the Federal arms which occurred during the progress of the war, took place at Great Bethel, on the 10th of June, 1861. General Butler, who then commanded a large body of troops at Fortress Monroe, having ascertained that there was established a camp at a place ten miles distant from Hampton, which they had strongly fortified, determined to attack and dislodge them. He therefore ordered Colonel Duryée, with his regiment of Zouaves, and Colonel Townsend with his Albany troops, to cross the river at Hampton at midnight, and thence pursue their march toward Great Bethel. At the same time the regiment of Colonel Benedix, with a number of men from Vermont and Massachusetts, who were stationed at Newport News, were directed to advance so as to effect a junction with the forces sent from Fortress Monroe, at Little Bethel, three miles distant from the position of the enemy.

The entire expedition seems to have been badly

planned. So great was the neglect of the commanding officer, that proper signals had not been arranged between the troops proceeding from Newport News and those from Fortress Monroe, by means of which they could recognize each other in the darkness. Accordingly, the first disaster which took place resulted from the want of such recognition. Duryee's Zouaves passed Little Bethel between three and four o'clock in the morning. The regiment of Benedix soon followed, and took up its position at the intersection of the roads. As Colonel Townsend's regiment approached for the purpose of making a junction with them, they were mistaken for the enemy and were fired into. After a number had been slain and wounded the error was discovered, the firing ceased, and the united body advanced toward Great Bethel.

As soon as the Federal troops came within range of the guns of the Rebels, the latter opened upon them with a formidable array of artillery. The Federals attempted to advance, and by a rapid charge and a bold assault, to obtain possession of the works. But they were saluted with such a hail-storm of shot, and the expert riflemen of the foe seconded the efforts of their artillery so effectively, that the utmost bravery and desperation proved of little avail. Terrible havoc was produced in the ranks of the Federal troops, partly through the confusion and incompetency of General Pierce, who commanded the expedition, and partly in consequence of the immense advantage in artillery and position possessed by the Rebels. At length it became evident that further effort would be vain, and after an unequal and disastrous contest of two hours, the order to retreat was given. As the beaten troops retired they were pursued by the cavalry of the enemy, and some were slain on both sides.

One of the chief disasters of this disgraceful day was

the death of Lieutenant John T. Greble, who accompanied the expedition in command of the few cannon which were taken with it. During the engagement he had acted with great gallantry, and the chief impression produced upon the enemy was effected by the skill and vigor with which he worked his two guns. Eleven artillerymen of the regular army had been placed under his orders. When at last the command to retreat was given, he directed his cannon to be limbered up, and was about to retire, when a cannon ball struck him on the right temple. He fell and expired instantly.

This young officer, whose early and heroic death at this period rendered him the first martyr to the cause of the Union from among the officers of the *regular* army, had commenced, and until that hour had pursued, a career of more than ordinary brilliancy and promise. He was a native of Philadelphia, and at the time of his decease was twenty-seven years of age. His early education was received in the High School of the city of his birth. Having obtained admission to the Academy at West Point, he graduated in that institution with honor in 1854. He received the rank of brevet second lieutenant, and was subsequently ordered to Florida, where he served two years in the war against the Seminole Indians. In March, 1857, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and was afterward appointed to a position on the Academical Staff at West Point. In October, 1860, he was ordered to Fortress Monroe; and there he remained until May, 1861, when he was transferred to his last command—that of the artillery at the advanced post of Newport News.

Lieutenant Greble was descended from ancestors who had held honorable positions in the army of the American Revolution. He had always distinguished himself

in the performance of his official duties by superior intelligence, fortitude, and energy. In the battle of Great Bethel he had displayed the utmost coolness and heroism. It was he who, when the firing took place between the several Federal regiments, first discovered the mistake, rode up to the combatants, and succeeded in putting an end to the work of mutual destruction. He then exclaimed in agony that he had rather himself been shot, than that such a disaster should have taken place. He seems in fact to have entertained a foreboding of the fatal result of the expedition; and remarked to a brother officer, when he received the order to accompany it: "this is an ill advised and badly arranged movement, no good will come from it; and as for myself, I shall not return from the battle-field alive." After the action began he was left alone with his men on the field, by the confused and irregular operations of the troops; but he remained undaunted, working his guns with the utmost resolution, and with much success. Several officers, at a later period of the combat, seeing his exposed position, urged him to take better care of himself, and suggested that he should dodge the balls. He replied contemptuously, "I never dodge, nor will I retreat till I hear the notes of the bugle commanding it." At length these notes reached his ears, and not till then did he think of retiring. During the progress of the battle he sighted every discharge of his guns in person. It was noticed that his aim was extremely accurate. When he fell, the troops retreated, leaving his body on the field. A short time afterward Lieutenant Colonel Warren and Captain Wilson rallied a few of the men, returned, rescued his remains and the two cannon, and then sadly joined in the general flight. The Federal loss was seventeen killed, forty-five wounded.



While the destructive tide of Secession was surging to and fro like a mighty deluge, devastating the once fair domains of the South, it is gratifying to notice an opposite current arising in the western portion of Virginia, in favor of the time-honored Union. A convention had been called together at Wheeling consisting of delegates from many of the western counties of the State, for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of disavowing the acts of the Richmond Convention, in adopting the secession ordinance; and to form a new State which should remain a constituent portion of the Union. On the 17th of June the final decision was made in reference to the subject. An unanimous vote was given by the Convention in favor of the establishment of a separate Commonwealth, which was then named Kanawha, but was afterward called New Virginia, and in favor of its admission to the Federal Union. There was not a dissenting voice, but a small number of the delegates were absent. There were fifty-six ballots cast in favor of the measure; and the declaration which embodied the action of the Convention was signed by each of those fifty-six.

In the meantime the martial events of the Rebellion progressed, and the future plans and purposes of the armed traitors became more apparent. The force of fifteen thousand men which, under the rebel General Johnston, had taken possession of Harper's Ferry, evacuated that place, as already stated, on the 14th of June, after destroying a large portion of the public property which there existed. The motive of this withdrawal was judicious on the part of the Rebels; it being simply for the purpose of rendering their forces more available in connection with the anticipated struggle at Manassas. On the 18th of June they inflicted a slight reverse upon that

portion of the Federal troops, consisting of the First Ohio regiment, which was commanded by General Schenck. They had placed a concealed battery on an eminence adjacent to the railroad to Vienna; and when the cars which contained these troops approached that town, they were suddenly fired upon. The Federal loss was eight killed and twelve wounded; a temporary panic ensued; but the troops ultimately resumed their journey, and reached their destination without further opposition.

More important and decisive events were now about to transpire in Western Virginia. On the 6th of May, 1861, General George B. McClellan was appointed to the command of the regiments raised in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and he formed the plan, in conjunction with General Morris, of an invasion of Virginia from the West. This project he submitted to the War Department. The evident ability and skill which it exhibited gained it an immediate approval, and McClellan at once proceeded to active operations. On the 23d of June that officer commenced to execute his purposes. The plan to which we have referred was in substance as follows:—The main army of the Rebels in Western Virginia, commanded by General Garnett, was then posted at Beverly, about fifty miles south of Grafton. It was proposed to attract and to occupy their attention by marching a force toward them from Grafton through Philippi; while another division should proceed in a parallel line through Clarksburg and Buckhannon, and penetrating further to the South, reach a point in their rear, prevent their retreat, and by a combined attack, vanquish and capture them.

This admirable arrangement was executed in spite of unexpected difficulties, in an equally admirable manner. The Rebels anticipating no attack except in their front, took a new position twelve miles north of Beverly, and

strongly fortified it. General Morris then led a brigade of Ohio and Indiana troops toward the enemy from the North. At Bealington, when within range of their guns, he halted, fortified his position, completely obstructed their further advance, and then awaited the operations of McClellan. That officer also executed his part of the plan with signal energy and ability. With the main body of the Federal troops which had been posted at Grafton he advanced through Clarksburg to Buckhannon. At Rich Mountain he unexpectedly found a Rebel force of two thousand men, under General Pegram, posted in a strong position. He divided his troops into two divisions; placed one under command of Colonel Rosecranz, and himself led the other. Pegram's position was turned by a flank march through the woods. Many of his men were killed and taken; a total rout ensued; and on the following day the main body, under Pegram, was compelled to surrender. A small detachment afterward effected their escape.

When these fugitives reached the camp of General Garnett, they quickly apprised him of his real danger. Then it was that he attempted to retreat to Beverly; for had he reached that position he might have effected his escape from superior numbers, by crossing the mountains at Cheat Mountain Gap. He might thus have joined the rebel forces in Central Virginia, or else have united with the troops of General Wise stationed on the Kanawha. But he was defeated in the accomplishment of this purpose by the energy and promptitude with which McClellan executed his part of the plan. His timely advance toward Beverly interrupted the movement. Only one alternative, therefore, yet remained to General Garnett, which was to retreat by a road running to the northeast, up Cheat river, until he could obtain a passage through

the mountains into the central valley of Virginia. He immediately abandoned his baggage and artillery, and commenced a rapid march toward St. George.

The Federal commander immediately detected this movement and pursued the retiring foe. Then followed a grand and desperate chase, which was in itself an extraordinary achievement. During forty hours, with one single intermission, the Federal forces continued the pursuit. Through a mountainous, rugged, often almost impassable country, sometimes by fording rivers, sometimes by facing storms of wind and rain, they advanced; and at length reached the rear of the exhausted and retreating Rebels. The latter were at once attacked with the utmost energy and resolution. A decisive victory was gained. The Rebels abandoned their camp, their few remaining guns, some prisoners, and fled in the utmost precipitation. Their commanding officer, General Garnett, who seems not to have been deficient in courage or skill, was slain during the engagement. The scattered wreck of his army sought safety, and disappeared from view, in the deeper and remoter recesses of the mountains.

It must be admitted that few military plans were ever conceived with greater sagacity, or executed with more signal ability, than this. To whom the chief credit both of the plan and of its execution may be due, is another question. It is clear that it was first known as an enterprise proposed by General Morris, who was in command of the Federal forces stationed at Grafton previous to the arrival of General McClellan. But as General Morris was not a professional soldier, it is probable that the complete conception of the arrangement is to be chiefly attributed to McClellan. To him also was assigned the execution of much the more difficult portion of the combination.



In the practical part of the achievement the honors must to some extent be divided among several brave men. Colonel Rosecranz fulfilled his commission with equal valor and skill. Captain Benham, the principal staff officer of General Morris, also distinguished himself. Nevertheless, with that partiality with which mankind generally over-praise those whom they elevate to the position of favorites, the sole glory of the brilliant movement was attributed by the popular voice, to the most prominent actor in it.

One of the inevitable consequences produced by a revolution, either civil or military, is, that it develops latent greatness of character, and gives an opportunity to men of superior ability to attain eminence, who would otherwise have remained comparatively obscure. This remark applies with truth to the Southern Rebellion. Among its other results, its stirring events introduced George Brinton McClellan to the special notice and scrutiny of mankind.

This officer was born in Philadelphia in December, 1826. In his sixteenth year, having chosen the military profession as his future pursuit, he entered the academy at West Point. He ranked second in his class for merit and ability among a number of young men, all of whom were his seniors. He graduated in 1846, and received a commission as brevet second lieutenant of engineers. The war with Mexico breaking out, he assisted in training an engineer company which had been raised at West Point, and then proceeded with them to active service.

He landed with General Scott at Vera Cruz, and took part in all the battles which signalized the career of that commander in Mexico. The progress of his promotion was rapid, but not more rapid than was the development of his merit. In August, 1847, he was breveted first

lieutenant for his gallantry at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco. In the next month he was breveted captain for his heroism in the conflicts of Molina del Rey and Chepultepec. He was subsequently, in May, 1848, promoted to the rank of commandant of sappers, miners and pontoniers. There was scarcely another instance among the many talented young men who distinguished themselves in that war, of a person whose rise in the profession was so rapid and so constant as his.

The war being ended, McClellan returned to West Point, where he remained till 1851. The ensuing interval he employed in preparing a manual for the bayonet exercise, which was introduced into the army. That work became a standard authority on the subject. During the summer and fall of 1851 he superintended the building of Fort Delaware. In the following spring he joined the expedition under Major Marey for the purpose of exploring the Red river. Thence he proceeded to Texas as senior engineer, to survey the rivers and harbors of that State. While in Mexico he had attracted the attention and won the confidence of Jefferson Davis, whose sagacious eye easily detected his superior qualities. When Davis became Secretary of War under President Pierce, he employed McClellan to make a *reconnoissance* of the Cascade mountains on the Pacific, with special reference to the future construction of the Pacific Railroad. This difficult duty he discharged to the entire satisfaction of the Secretary; who, having set his heart upon the accomplishment of that important enterprise, was very exacting in regard to every thing which might promote its attainment.

In 1854 McClellan was dispatched on a secret mission to the West Indies. In the next year he received a captaincy in a regiment of cavalry; and then followed

the most important commission with which he had yet been honored. He was selected by Mr. Davis, in connection with Richard Delafield and Alfred Mordecai, to proceed to the Crimea for the purpose of making observations upon the military operations which were then in progress; and to examine the most noted military establishments of Europe. The commissioners were absent two years, and after their return, each of them submitted to the Government a separate report containing the results of his observations. It may safely be affirmed that, though the reports of Delafield and Mordecai were creditable performances, the production of McClellan was superior to them both; and it was so regarded by the Government for whom it was prepared.

This elaborate work was published in 1857. It was illustrated by admirable plates, diagrams and maps. Its contents were of the utmost value, including not merely reports upon the events on the great struggle in the Crimea, but also dissertations on many topics of importance connected with military science. It described with accuracy the characteristics of the French, Austrian, Prussian and Sardinian infantry, the various departments of the Russian army, and the regulations for military service in the chief countries of Europe. The author discussed the peculiar tactics, discipline and equipments of all the great European armies. Nothing of interest which appertained to the organization of troops and camps, the construction of field works, the most approved method of reducing fortified positions, the peculiar merits and defects of British and French, Russian and Sardinian soldiers, was omitted. The principles of modern warfare, hospitals, commissariats, the Zouaves, military instruction in general—these and many other subjects of great interest and value were investigated in the various reports which

constituted this volume; and they were treated with the ability of a man as well practiced in handling the pen as in wielding the sword. The style of the work is clear and forcible, the research exhibited is thorough and deep, the reflections made are sagacious and original, the learning displayed is accurate and profound.

After his return from Europe in 1857, McClellan resigned his position in the army, and assumed that of Vice President and Chief Engineer of the Illinois Central Railroad. This office he retained until he was elected President of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. It was from this position that he was transferred, immediately after the commencement of the Rebellion, to the military command of the Department of Ohio, comprising that State, together with Illinois, Indiana and Western Virginia. His achievements in the latter field we have already narrated. After the battle of Bull Run the Administration at Washington, discovering the incompetence of some of those in high command, felt the necessity of summoning to the Capital the best military talent within their reach. Then it was that they conferred upon General McClellan the most responsible, the most difficult, but also the most honorable post ever bestowed upon any young American officer, since that memorable day when George Washington was chosen by the Continental Congress, in another great crisis of the nation's destiny, to conduct the armies of the rising Republic to scenes of victory and glory.



## CHAPTER IX.

THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF CONGRESS IN JULY, 1861—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—ITS CHARACTERISTICS—ITS DEMANDS—SKETCH OF THADDEUS STEVENS—HIS POLITICAL CAREER—HIS PERSONAL QUALITIES—HIS ACTION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS—IMPORTANT BILLS PASSED BY CONGRESS—OPPOSITION OF MESSRS. VALLANDIGHAM AND BURNETT TO THE POLICY OF THE ADMINISTRATION—THE CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI—THE GRAND ARMY EQUIPPED AT WASHINGTON—COMPLAINTS OF ITS PROLONGED INACTIVITY—ORDER GIVEN TO GEN. MCDOWELL TO ADVANCE TOWARD MANASSAS—ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY—THE ADVANCE REACH BULL RUN—THE PRELIMINARY CONFLICT AT THAT PLACE—REPULSE OF GENERAL TYLER'S DIVISION—POSITION OF THE REBEL ARMY AT MANASSAS—GEN. BEAUREGARD—THE IMPENDING CONTEST—TEMPER OF THE REBEL TROOPS—THE ARTS EMPLOYED TO INFLAME THEM.

THE extraordinary session of Congress which convened at Washington on the 4th of July, 1861, will always remain an event of supreme importance in American history. It assembled under circumstances such as never before existed since the foundation of the Federal Government; and it may be added, that the peculiarities which marked its deliberations were such as have rarely been exhibited in the proceedings of the National Legislature. A regard was paid, to some extent, to the real purposes for which the members had been summoned to meet; and wordy speeches for popularity and profit, as well as brutal assaults for supremacy or revenge, were for the time being abandoned. On the 5th of July President Lincoln sent in his message, which was read to both Houses, and became at once the subject of scrutiny and attention.

This message was also novel in its character. Unlike Presidential messages in general, it was characterized by brevity, clearness, and practical good sense. It went directly to the heart of the great theme which then absorbed and influenced every mind. It was indeed destitute of the polish of style and the elegance of language which have generally embellished, but have as often obscured or enfeebled, the official addresses of the Chief Magistrate. But every man in the nation could understand it. It possessed the qualities of sagacity and intelligence, which recommended it to the most cultivated and fastidious. It displayed a vigor of purpose and an earnestness in defense of the Union, which elicited the applause of the most illiterate and obscure. It was precisely the right thing in the right place. It was a faithful response to the convictions and sentiments of every patriot in the community.

In this message the President made a requisition upon Congress for four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars; in order that, by adopting the most vigorous measures, the most decisive results might at once be attained. One of the first acts of the Speaker of the House was to appoint the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. That committee, under the existing circumstances, was invested with even more importance than it ordinarily possessed. Upon the ability and industry of its members, and especially of its chairman, the efficiency of the whole body in a great measure depended; and the Speaker in this instance made a selection which was marked by eminent appropriateness and prudence. No man then occupied a seat in the Federal Congress who was more highly gifted by nature, or possessed greater experience and skill in the management of deliberative bodies, than Thaddeus

Stevens; and upon him this responsible post was wisely conferred, to the exclusion and the mortification of not a few aspiring politicians, who imagined that their vast abilities and their extraordinary services entitled them to it.

Mr. Stevens was one of the most remarkable of a generation of American statesmen, who have now nearly all passed away. His name and his influence were distinguished in the political history of Pennsylvania for thirty-five years; and for twenty years he was prominent among our politicians of national reputation. He was a native of Vermont, and was born in 1796. In his early manhood he removed to York, and afterward to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the practice of the law. He quickly became the head of a bar adorned by such men as Judge Reed of Carlisle, Charles B. Penrose, Senator James Cooper, and others of high repute. Being elected to represent his district in the State Legislature, he there took the first rank among many talented men; and domineered over both Houses, over the Whig Governors, over their Cabinets, and over the affairs of the State generally, during several administrations, with an influence which was well nigh absolute. The chief secret of his power and of his success was his superior ability in debate, and his matchless tact in controlling a deliberative assembly. In all the highest arts of a popular and forensic orator, in earnestness and pathos of declamation, in shrewdness and sophistry of reasoning, in scathing severity of sarcasm, in dauntless resolution of temper, in readiness of reply, and in quickness to detect and expose the weak points of an adversary,—in all those qualifications Mr. Stevens, when in his prime, had few superiors among the most renowned and accomplished of American orators.

In the Federal House of Representatives he always maintained a high rank; although he did not take his seat in it till after he had passed the most vigorous period of his life. His achievements as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in the memorable extra session of 1861, formed a noble and appropriate climax to his long career; and his name will descend to future generations as one of the ablest and most efficient of those coadjutors of the President, who, in that perilous crisis of the nation's history, infused energy, liberality and patriotism into the legislative branch of the Government. Though he made no long speeches in the performance of his duties, he accomplished greater things than long speeches could then achieve, by the use of tact, and even by the maintenance, in some cases, of prudent and significant silence. More than once, when Vallandigham and Burnett—the chief representatives of a treasonable policy in the House—had delivered themselves of impetuous and frothy harangues against the measures proposed by the Committee, and briefly advocated by its chairman; when they had fumed and fretted for an hour, and imagined that they had so effectually badgered the Chairman of the Committee that he must needs respond, and endeavor to vindicate himself by a speech equally convulsive and equally frantic as their own;—more than once, under such circumstances, and after such a tremendous assault, did Mr. Stevens annihilate all that the adverse orators had uttered, by maintaining an unexpected and contemptuous silence, or, at most, by uttering a few words of poisoned and deadly sarcasm. Many able men have served as Chairmen of the Congressional Committees of Ways and Means, in many difficult crises of our national history; but no one ever acquitted



himself with more ability and success than did Mr. Stevens in that position.

On the 10th of July a bill was passed, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow, on the credit of the United States, a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty millions of dollars; for which he was authorized to issue certificates of coupon or registered stock, and treasury notes. The stock was to bear interest not exceeding seven per centum per annum, payable semi-annually, and to be irredeemable for twenty years. The treasury notes were to be payable three years after date, with interest at the rate of seven and three-tenths per centum per annum. The faith of the United States was pledged for the payment of the interest, and the redemption of the principal of the loan. This act conferred on the President the necessary means to carry on the war, and was preliminary to many other important bills which were subsequently passed, and which provided for the continuance of efficient military operations.

Two members of the House and one of the Senate particularly disgraced themselves during the entire progress of this session, by their systematic opposition to the patriotic policy of the Government. These were Messrs. Vallandigham of Ohio, and Burnett and Breckinridge of Kentucky. It is difficult to conceive what could have been the real motive of their action, unless it were that perversity which characterizes some minds, and impels them to resist what all other men unanimously approve. It is the unenviable distinction of these persons that, in this perilous crisis they exerted themselves to aid the Rebels by obstructing the wheels of legislation, and by the use of every possible expedient—by direct opposition, by offering substitutes, by proposing amendments, by calling for the previous question, by moving

to lay on the table, and by moving to adjourn—by these and other tricks they endeavored to hamper the onward march of the most honorable measures which were ever adopted by any American Congress. They will probably receive their reward; and by the decision of a just posterity, when the storms and perils of this disastrous time shall have passed away, they will be classed with the Floyds and Davises of the present era, with the Burrs and Arnolds of a former age.

It is not necessary here to enumerate all even of the most important of the bills which were passed by Congress during this extraordinary session. It will be sufficient to observe, that every appropriation which the safety and honor of the nation required, was liberally made. Such harmony and unanimity had never before existed in any American Congress. So far indeed did these qualities prevail, that they led to the occurrence of a phenomenon unknown before in the annals of modern legislation. We read, in the history of the Christian Church, of certain harmless and perhaps excusable expedients termed "pious frauds," which were resorted to in different ages and countries, for the purpose of accomplishing results in themselves beneficent and good.\* In the present case a measure was adopted which may with equal propriety be termed a patriotic fraud, by which two separate and independent bills were passed, apparently by accident, doubtless by design, which in effect conferred on the President the power to summon a million of men into the field, if he should deem that number necessary for the defence and preservation of the Union. To whom the credit or the blame of this patriotic fraud ought to be attributed, there can be but little doubt; for in legislative

\* Vide Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1, pp. 65, 112.

adroitness of this kind, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means had few superiors.

The civil war in Missouri now assumed more tragical features from day to day. The inhabitants of that State were thoroughly divided on the subject of Secession, and the greater ferocity and cruelty which characterize many of the inhabitants of those outposts of civilization, produced the effect that there the war assumed a more desperate character than it had yet exhibited in any other scene of conflict. Two rival governors claimed the executive authority of the State. Two camps and two armies were gradually collected. The rebels were commanded by General Claiborne Jackson, the Federal troops were led by General Franz Sigel; and it was evident, from the hostile and vigorous spirit which characterized both armies, that a collision between them was imminent.

In a republican government such as our own, every man regards himself as a political sovereign, and each one claims the right to interfere in the administration of public affairs. Nor do these individual sovereigns choose to recognize any difference between things military and things civil; all alike must be subject to their scrutiny and jurisdiction. This disposition was very clearly exhibited in reference to the operations of what was absurdly termed the "Grand Army," by those whose patriotism was more ardent than their sagacity was penetrating. By this term were meant the Federal troops who were collected at Washington; and during the early portion of July great impatience was expressed by some leading journals, chiefly in New York, that so powerful an army should be allowed to remain so long in ignoble repose. A general complaint or appeal was made by those journals, that it was high time something decisive

should be done, that a battle should be fought, that a victory should be achieved, merely, if for nothing else, to show the rebels how utterly insignificant they were, and to demonstrate to the world that the Federal Government was omnipotent, and could crush with its finger the whole body of the presumptuous foe.

It was doubtless in consequence of the impatience of these military tyros, and the pertinacious clamors for a battle with which they persecuted the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of War, that orders were at length issued, that on the 17th of July the Grand Army, numbering thirty thousand men, should move forward toward Richmond, under the command of General Irwin McDowell. This army, though composed of the best possible raw materials, though brave, though patriotic, though ardently devoted to the cause of the Union, was nevertheless, in the opinion of every man of scientific military attainments, little more than an armed mob; for it is not possible for any human power to convert the mere citizen into a real soldier by six weeks drilling. The military editors, however, prevailed, and the following dispositions were made: The first division, under General Tyler, forming the right centre, marched toward Vienna. The column of the extreme right, commanded by Colonel Hunter, moved toward Centreville. The left centre column, under the orders of General Miles, proceeded by the Little River turnpike toward Fairfax Court House. The column of the extreme left, led by Colonel Heintzelman, advanced by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

Previous to this date Fairfax had been occupied by a number of Rebel troops. On the morning of the 17th they abandoned their position without making any resistance. The Federal forces first entered the town at



noon on that day. The Secession flag still waved insultingly from the Court House; but it quickly gave place to the national colors. The rebel troops who had retreated from Fairfax were about five thousand in number, and were commanded by General Bonham, who had recently been a member of Congress from South Carolina.

On the 18th of July the march of the Federal army was resumed toward Manassas Junction. The fourth brigade of General Tyler's division, commanded by Colonel Richardson, led the advance. General Tyler pushed forward with his staff, and a small escort, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. When he reached a height opposite to Bull Run, he discovered, in a long slope or valley which stretched out before him, a number of the Rebel cavalry and infantry moving in the distance. He immediately sent back orders for two twenty-pounders to be brought forward. With these he attacked the enemy, then distant about a mile and a half. This cannonading commenced at half past twelve o'clock. Soon the Rebels brought forward a battery of four guns, with which they responded to the Federal artillery. Their shots exhibited such excellent marksmanship that it was evident they had taken the range of their guns before. The first body of Federal troops which arrived at the scene was the brigade of Colonel Richardson. He was directed by General Tyler to advance on the right along the outskirts of the forest, for the purpose, if possible, of capturing the enemy's guns. The brigade proceeded to execute the order; but when they approached the spot at which the rebel guns had been posted, an attack was suddenly made upon them by a strong force of the enemy. These had, in reality, formed an ambuscade, and they now poured a deadly deluge of rifle shot

into the Federal ranks, while concealed in trenches, lying behind embankments, and sheltered by the woods. Soon the field was covered with a dense cloud of smoke, and the Federal troops fought under the immense disadvantage of not knowing the ground, and of being unable to see the foe. Not expecting to encounter so fierce and general an attack, our artillery was not provided with sufficient ammunition to maintain a lengthened contest. After the lapse of an hour from the commencement of the engagement, the Federal troops retired. The enemy did not advance from their position, but continued to fire upon the retreating column. The latter brought away with them all their guns. The killed on the Federal side were about sixty, with an equal proportion of wounded. The loss of the enemy is unknown to us. It was probably much less than our own, in consequence of the superior advantages possessed by them, both in position and in numbers. Seven regiments only were engaged on the Federal side. Four times as many troops joined in the action on the part of the Rebels. The effect of this rebuff to our arms was extremely injurious. It gave hope to the Rebels, and depressed the Federals. It was doubtless an imprudent movement to permit a detachment of troops to advance into what might be, and into what actually proved to be, a treacherous and deadly ambushade; for they encountered the risk of being overpowered by vastly superior numbers. In such a dilemma the bravest will falter, the most valiant fail.

And now the critical moment was approaching when a great and memorable conflict was destined to occur. During several months all the martial zeal of the seceding States had been expended in concentrating their military resources at one favorable point, in order that, at that point, they might resist, and if possible hurl back the

advancing forces of the Federal Government. The position which they had selected as the scene of this achievement was a spot till then unknown to fame—a spot scarcely marked down on any general map; but a spot fated thenceforth to be immortal as Manassas Plains. It was admirably adapted by nature to the purpose of defence; and its natural advantages had been increased and improved by the assiduous use of every device known to the military art, of which it was capable. The place consists of a succession of hills, nearly equidistant, protected in front by a deep and thickly wooded ravine. It lies half way between the eastern spur of the Blue Ridge on the one hand, and the Potomac river on the other. Its more elevated points command the whole intervening country. The right wing of the entrenchments extended toward the head of the Occoquon, where the thick forest rendered an approach difficult and dangerous. The left occupied a rolling table land, interspersed with successive elevations, which fully commanded its entire expanse. The centre of the Rebel army was posted precisely upon the key of the whole admirably-chosen position.

That position had been as effectively fortified as it had been admirably chosen. A line of batteries had been erected two miles in extent, whose outline was zigzag in shape, and was strengthened, at the necessary points, with bastions and other structures, with all the skill of a Vauban or a Cohorn. The Rebel camp was abundantly watered by mountain rivulets which murmured through it, on their way to the tranquil bosom of the Potomac. In the rear there lay a fertile country, where wheat, oats, corn, pasture and meadow fields, furnished ample subsistence to the troops. The number of men whom Beauregard had assembled at this point it is impossible for us precisely to state; but the lowest conjecture, based upon the most reliable evidence within our reach, would make

it about forty thousand men. These were composed of an enraged and frantic conglomeration of human beings, chiefly from South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia; though smaller contingents had been furnished by several other seceding States. They were well provided with artillery and ammunition. The larger portion of their guns had been directly stolen from the United States; and these the Rebels now purposed to employ against the Government which they had defrauded.

The energy and ability which General Beauregard had exhibited in collecting, training and fortifying this army, had inspired them with the utmost confidence in his abilities and in his fortunes. He and his officers had inflamed the passions of their troops to the highest pitch, by all the arts of the demagogue and the soldier. No means had been neglected which might render this formidable host confident of success, contemptuous of their opponents, efficient in combat, and comparatively safe within the shelter of powerful and well constructed batteries. Traitors at Washington and elsewhere, had given the enemy timely warning of the approach of the Federal army. They were not, therefore, to be taken by surprise. As the decisive moment approached the last stirring appeal was made. The Rebels were reminded that the hour of victory, the hour of glory, and the hour of revenge, had at length arrived. Now was the time to slake, in a deluge of Yankee blood, that growing thirst for vengeance which had been accumulating during half a century. Now was the time to demonstrate to the world the immeasurable superiority of the native of the South over the native of the North. And to a deadly combat with such a foe, superior in numbers, in position, and in artillery, the Federal forces marched, little conscious of the real nature of the service before them.



## CHAPTER X.

THE FEDERAL ARMY AT CENTREVILLE—GENERAL MCDOWELL'S PLAN OF ATTACK—THE DIVISIONS OF GENERALS TYLER, HUNTER AND HEINTZELMAN—THEIR SEVERAL DUTIES—THE MARCH FROM CENTREVILLE—INTERESTING SPECTACLE—GENERAL TYLER FIRST REACHES THE BATTLE-FIELD—HE COMMENCES THE ENGAGEMENT—MOVEMENTS OF GENERALS HUNTER AND HEINTZELMAN—THE GALLANT SIXTY-NINTH NEW YORK—THE ENGAGEMENT BECOMES GENERAL—VIGOROUS CANNONADING—THE REBELS GRADUALLY OVERPOWERED—THE FEDERALS VICTORIOUS AT MID-DAY—REBEL ADMISSIONS TO THAT EFFECT—GENERAL JOHNSTON'S TROOPS FROM WINCHESTER ARRIVE ON THE BATTLE-FIELD—THEY REVERSE THE TIDE OF VICTORY—SUDDEN PANIC IN THE FEDERAL ARMY—A GENERAL RETREAT ENSUES—INCIDENTS OF THE FLIGHT—INDIVIDUAL INSTANCES OF HEROISM—RESULTS OF THE BATTLE—FAILURE OF THE REBEL COMMANDERS TO IMPROVE THEIR VICTORY—ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCES.

It was on Sunday, July 21st, 1861, that the memorable battle of Manassas, the most decisive and desperate which had yet occurred on the American continent, took place. The Federal Army during the preceding day and night reposed at Centreville, about seven miles distant from the scene of conflict. It was placed under the command of General Irwin McDowell—an officer who had received a military education at West Point, had distinguished himself during the Mexican war, had been rapidly promoted from rank to rank, had invariably conducted himself with gallantry and heroism, and who was worthy of the important trust which was on this occasion conferred upon him.

The plan of attack which this officer devised, and purposed to execute, was, in the opinion of those most com-

petent to judge, an admirable one. The army was separated into three divisions, which were ordered to advance to the position of the enemy by three routes. Two of these movements were to be genuine assaults; the third was to be a feint for the purpose of distracting the attention of the foe. The division of General Tyler was directed to march forward by the Warrington road, and to cross Bull Run a mile and a half to the right. This division comprised the first and second Ohio, and the second New York regiments, under General Schenck; the sixty-ninth, seventy-ninth, and thirteenth of New York, with the second Wisconsin regiments. Three efficient batteries—those of Carlisle, Ayres and Rickett—accompanied them. The second road was taken by General Hunter, on the extreme right, who commanded the eighth and fourteenth New York regiments, a battalion of the second, third and eighth regular infantry, a number of artillery, the first and second Ohio, the seventy-first New York, two New Hampshire regiments, and the powerful Rhode Island battery. The third route was to be taken by the division of General Heintzelman, comprising the fourth and fifth Massachusetts and the first Minnesota regiments, the second, fourth and fifth Maine, and the second Vermont regiments, supported by cavalry and artillery. General Hunter's orders were to pass a small stream called Cub Run; to turn to the right, then to the north, to pass the upper ford of Bull Run; then, marching southward, to attack the enemy in the rear. General Heintzelman was directed to cross Bull Run at the lower ford, and there attack the Rebels when they were being driven before the advancing lines of Hunter. The reserve, under General Miles, was posted at Centreville, numbering six thousand men. The actual number of troops who marched to the attack of the rebels at Manas-

sas was about twenty-three thousand. The duty assigned to Hunter and to Heintzelman was, to drive the enemy from the right and from the rear upon the force of General Tyler on the left; so that, hemmed in between the three bodies, their defeat might be more certainly efficiently accomplished.

General McDowell had at first intended to commence the march from Centreville on Saturday afternoon, July 20th, and orders had actually been given to that effect. But it was discovered at the moment of starting, that a deficiency of heavy ammunition existed, and that a large supply must first be obtained from Fairfax. This process rendered a short delay necessary, and then it was determined to postpone the advance until the following day. Accordingly, at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning, the command was given to strike the tents and to commence the march.

Soon the vast multitude began to move forward. The scene which was then presented to the view of an observer was one of imposing magnificence, and of solemn, martial splendor. The moon shone brightly and serenely in the distant heavens, which were spangled with myriads of sparkling gems; while the immense assemblage of human beings, swarming over many a hill and vale, hurried forward with eager tread toward the field of blood. The mellow light of the dim luminaries served only to add the charm of a mystic and mysterious grandeur to the spectacle. The solemn silence of the Sabbath morn was broken by the rumbling sound of the artillery, by the confused tread of horses and of men, intermingled with the occasional echo of the stern word of command, or the gladsome voices of laughter and song. General McDowell and his staff accompanied the central column of General Tyler's command.

At length the clearer light of the early dawn spread over the face of the earth. Then, after a short interval, the sun appeared in full effulgence in the rosy East; and as he commenced to mount the azure heavens, the head of General Tyler's column reached the eminence, from which the first distant view of the position of the enemy could be obtained. Seldom had a fairer, calmer, or lovelier scene been presented to the charmed eye of the enthusiastic admirer of nature, than that which the wide sweep of country before them exhibited, soon to be torn and riven by the impetuous rush of infantry and cavalry, by the terrific discharges of the artillery—soon to be covered with human gore, and with the bleeding bodies of the dying and the dead.

There is nothing more difficult in the whole range of historical inquiry than the attempt to describe a great battle with perfect accuracy and truthfulness. It is easy to imagine or exaggerate a series of thrilling events, and to embellish a narrative with highly-colored pictures, which may interest, excite, and sometimes even appall the reader. But that process will merely produce a work of imagination; it will not elaborate a scene of historic verity. And if it be perplexing to an observer who has been an actual witness of a great engagement to furnish any thing like a reliable descriptive *coup d'œil* of the whole conflict, extending over an area of five, and in some cases of ten miles—as it undoubtedly is—how much more difficult must *his* task be, who attempts to extract from the conflicting and diversified statements of others, the material of a pen-picture of his own? The more he studies, scrutinizes, and compares the various narratives and versions which others give, all equally confident and equally sincere, the more he will detect the contradictions and incongruities which exist between



them; and he will be at a loss to know how to act as arbiter, what to credit and what to reject. In such a dilemma his highest aim must be to approximate as near the truth as he possibly can.

It was half-past five o'clock in the morning when the head of General Tyler's division reached a position favorable for commencing the attack. The enemy could be seen from that position busily forming their lines about a mile in front. Skirmishers were immediately thrown forward, who soon encountered the Rebel pickets and exchanged shots with them. A ponderous thirty-two pound Parrot rifled cannon was then advanced upon the road, and a number of shells were thrown into their ranks. To this salute they made no reply, and General Tyler ordered his division to move forward, so as to be in nearer contact with the enemy, who seemed to have concealed the principal portion of their numbers behind the woods and the rolling hills. They had, in fact, taken their position, in great part, in the forest on the right and left, and had posted their artillery and masked their guns behind the groves which were scattered over the intervening country.

The second Ohio and second New York regiments were then ordered by General Tyler to advance and attack the enemy in their concealed position. They obeyed, and soon the response of the guns of the Rebels demonstrated the fact that they had posted themselves in such a manner as to entice our men forward, that they might be more completely within the range of their batteries. So heavy an attack of artillery was now opened upon them from cannon which were almost invisible, and which seemed to pour forth a deadly deluge from fiery mouths opening upon the very surface of the earth, that General Schenck at length gave the order to retire

from the unequal contest. But at the same moment Carlisle's battery was ordered forward to respond to the masked artillery. His great guns replied with terrible effect. In half an hour the concealed cannon of the foe at this point were completely silenced.

While these events were progressing in the front of the enemy's main position, the divisions of Hunter and of Heintzelman were operating on the extreme right, so as to reach the flank and the rear of the Rebels. The circuit which they made was an extensive one of some miles; the march was difficult, and it was half-past ten before they reached the presence of the enemy. The latter were posted in a strong position beyond Ludley Springs. General Hunter at once attacked them with the fourteenth New York, the Rhode Island regiment commanded by Burnside, the second New Hampshire and the New York seventy-first. As these troops advanced the enemy poured upon them a destructive deluge of shot and shell; but they continued to advance with firmness and unflinching heroism. This was the northern extremity of the battle ground, and some of the fiercest fighting of that bloody day took place in this part of the engagement. The gallant Sixty-ninth rushed forward to the encounter with yells of mingled fury and exultation. They formed the van of a column which General Tyler had sent forward to coöperate with Hunter's division in surrounding the foe; and they fell upon the Rebels with that combination of gallantry and ferocity which have characterized the Irish soldier in every country on the globe.

These various operations were but preliminary to the grand and chief contest of the day. The cannonading between the two armies now became general. All the guns of the enemy were by this time brought into play,

and nearly all the Federal forces except the reserves, had come into action. The battle-field, the range of the artillery, and the various operations of the assailants and defendants, extended over an area of about five miles. The discharges of artillery were very numerous; the reverberation was deafening; the energy, the intensity, and the effect of the combat, were terrific. The sullen sound of the guns was heard at Centreville, at Fairfax, at Alexandria; it was even perceptible at Washington. The widely-spread and still-extending scene of conflict over the hills, the valleys and the ravines of Manassas, was now enveloped in countless up-rolling volumes of smoke; and only at intervals, by the friendly aid of fitful eddies of the wind, could a glimpse be obtained of the exact position and operations of the combatants. Thus far, however, it was evident that all had gone well with the Federal arms. Hunter had succeeded in turning the flank of the enemy, and masses of fugitive Mississippians, retreating before his advancing columns, gave evidence that the tide of victory was his. But as the Federal troops pressed forward in pursuit, new batteries, till then concealed in the rear, opened their deadly mouths upon them, hurling death into their serried ranks. The foe here fought indeed with the utmost desperation. Occasionally a furious charge from their retiring columns would recover for a moment the lost advantage; but it would be only to suffer in return a new reverse, and to commence a new retreat. Then again fresh batteries, skillfully masked, would open upon the advancing victors, inflicting upon them additional penalties for their success. But the general sweep of the contest here was favorable to the Federal army. Hunter and Heintzelman were successively progressing toward a junction with Tyler, and the arc of a grand and overwhelming circle

of destruction and defeat was being inexorably drawn around the Rebel host. And now cheer after cheer rose upon the air, which were wafted by the breeze over the field, from one portion of the exultant and victorious troops to another.

At half-past twelve, it may with truth be asserted that, in all essential respects, a decisive triumph had been gained by the Federal arms. Hunter and Heintzelman had penetrated far into the position of the enemy. On the heights toward the enemy's left, regiment after regiment of the foe had been driven in by the heroic charges of our troops. Fresh regiments could be discovered by the distant observer, hastening up to the support of those which were wavering; and then, after a desperate combat, the whole defeated mass could be seen to recoil, and to plunge into a promiscuous retreat. The Federals made such impetuous assaults, that the personal presence and frantic efforts of Beauregard himself could not resist them. Whole regiments of the Rebels were here cut to pieces, and the torn and scattered fragments were hurled back in fearful panic and disorder. But still, such was the marvelous ability with which that commander had fortified his position, that fresh triumphs and fresh pursuits on the part of the Federal troops only conducted them into the jaws of additional batteries, which had been posted and concealed in endless succession, up to the very centre of his position at Manassas; so that it seemed as if Satanic skill and malignity had contrived an inevitable ruin for the victors. Notwithstanding all this, the deadly toils were gradually drawing closer around the foe. His desperate efforts were becoming more and more impotent. He had abandoned all his breastworks, in this portion of the field, except one; and even this was stormed later in the day by several



regiments which were the last to abandon the contest and join in the retreat.

At one o'clock on this memorable day the Rebel host at Manassas, in spite of all their advantages of position and of numbers, were virtually defeated. *This may be proved even by their own concessions.* Thus, the special correspondent of the *Louisville Courier* declared, in a communication to that paper, after stating that General Tyler's attack on the centre of the Rebel position was not discovered to be a mere feint until almost too late, that reinforcements were then sent to the troops who were resisting the attack of Hunter and Heintzelman. From that part of the field he confessed that they had "been driven back some two miles." He added: "Now came the tug of war. The fortunes of the day were evidently against us. Some of our best officers were slain, and the flower of our army lay strewn on the field, ghastly in death or gaping with wounds. At noon the cannonading is described as terrific. It was an incessant roar for more than two hours, the havoc and devastation at this time being fearful. McDowell was just in the act of possessing himself of the railway to Richmond. Then all would have been lost. But most opportunely, I may say providentially, at this juncture General Johnston, with the remnant of his division, reappeared and made one other desperate struggle to obtain the vantage ground."

A similar concession was subsequently made by the correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*, who, when describing the death of General Bee, the commander of the South Carolinians on this day, said:

"The brunt of the morning's battle was sustained by his (Bee's) command until past twelve o'clock. Overwhelmed by superior numbers, and compelled to yield to

a fire that swept every thing before it, General Bee rode up and down his lines, encouraging his troops by every thing that was dear to them, to stand up and repel the tide which threatened them with destruction. At last—his own brigade dwindled to a mere handful, with every field officer killed or disabled—he rode up to General Jackson and said: ‘General, they are beating us back!’”

To this testimony we may add the admissions of the *Richmond Dispatch*. The correspondent of that paper wrote as follows: “Between two and three o’clock large numbers of men were leaving the field, some of them wounded, others exhausted by the long struggle, who gave us gloomy reports; but as the fire on both sides continued steadily, we felt sure that our brave Southerners had not been conquered by the overwhelming hordes of the North. It is, however, due to truth to say, that the result at this hour hung trembling in the balance. We had lost numbers of our most distinguished officers. Generals Bartow and Bee had been stricken down; Colonel Johnston, of the Hampton Legion, had been killed, and Colonel Hampton had been wounded. Your correspondent heard General Johnston say to General Coeke, just at this critical moment, ‘Oh, for four regiments!’ His wish was answered, for in the distance our reinforcements appeared. The tide of battle turned in our favor by the arrival of General Kirby Smith, from Winchester, with four thousand of General Johnston’s division.”

It is perfectly evident from such statements, of the highest authority, as well as from the position of affairs on the scene of conflict, that previous to the arrival of Johnston’s army on the field the strength of the Rebels was broken, and that victory had been legitimately earned by the Federal arms. At this crisis the fire of

the enemy had become languid. All over the ensanguined hills and plains their remaining guns responded slowly and feebly. At two o'clock the foe seemed extremely disheartened and confused. Three times had they been dislodged from a locality known as "a hill with a house on it," which was one of the strongest positions on the field. At that point the enemy was commanded by General Beauregard in person; and his troops had been driven a mile and a half from the fiercely contested point, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of that able commander. This discomfiture, which had been accomplished by the regiments under Heintzelman, added still more to the desperate nature of the situation of the Rebels. And yet, after all this heroism and this success, when victory seemed inevitable to the Federal arms, when the exhausted host of the Rebel chiefs appeared to be *in extremis*, the final issue was completely reversed, and one of the most disgraceful retreats which is inscribed on the historic page, ensued. How was this unexpected and wonderful catastrophe produced?

It was about three o'clock when large bodies of troops were observed by the Federal commanders, darkening the hill-tops in the farthest distance opposite the centre of the battle-field. Soon they were seen hastening to join in the conflict; and their secession banners waving in the breeze, and the freshness and vigor of their movements, clearly proved that they were reinforcements, which had endured nothing of the heat, the exhaustion, or the agony of the long struggle. They were in fact a portion of the army of General Johnston; who, having made good their escape from Winchester, had arrived by railroad at the Junction, and were now hastening to the field to rescue the cause of the Rebels from destruction. This terrible apparition, at such a time and in such a

juncture, might well have appalled the stoutest heart; yet, at the moment of its occurrence, no thought of flight existed, and additional troops were ordered forward to confront the advancing masses. Among these were three Connecticut regiments, the fourth of Maine and the first Tyler Brigade.

Notwithstanding the prodigious exertions which these Federal troops had already made during the protracted contest, they approached their new foes with the utmost heroism. A terrible onslaught ensued between them. One battery was eight times taken and eight times lost. Meanwhile fresh accessions to the Rebel forces were arriving in successive trains. They deployed upon the field, and were gradually and stealthily winding themselves around the left of the Federal army, with the evident purpose of surrounding them and cutting off their retreat. Nevertheless, an hour of the most desperate fighting ensued, during which prodigies of valor were performed by our exhausted troops. Still, however, the deluge of fresh reinforcements to the enemy continued to pour down upon the field. The left of the Federal army was slowly becoming surrounded and their rear attained. The fresh troops of the Rebels rushed upon their opponents in successive tides with sanguinary fury. One regiment of Mississippians, armed with immense bowie knives, fell upon them with the yells of maniacs and the ferocity of fiends. Then it was that, for the first time during the long and desperate conflict, our troops began to exhibit confusion and dismay, and the first indication of a panic commenced to appear. A vast body of Rebel cavalry now came pouring out of the woods upon our left, attacked the troops which happened to be near them, and assailed a multitude of unarmed teamsters, who, without any orders to that



effect, had moved their wagons forward with the general advance. The fatal panic which had arisen now spread rapidly from regiment to regiment. Masses of men, in the utmost disorder, rushed down from the distant hills in full retreat. The flight became general, and then ensued that marvelous and ignominious stampede from Manassas to Washington, which will forever remain one of the chief wonders and scandals of American history.

No reasonable person will condemn the Federal troops at Manassas for not maintaining the advantage they had gained, or even for retreating. A complete defeat, under such circumstances, was excusable. The crime which cannot be palliated or forgiven is, that the flight should have been continued so long and so far; that such extreme disorder and frantic fear, such groundless despair and such excesses of weakness, so total an oblivion of all shame, and such a disregard of the dignity of manhood, should have characterised the conduct of men who had exhibited such admirable heroism and endurance so shortly before.

Regiment after regiment now came rushing along the road and over the fields toward Centreville. But soon all distinctions of regiments and companies, of infantry, cavalry and artillery, were lost. The confusion of Babel was synthetic order and perfect symmetry when compared with the chaotic confusion which now prevailed. Many of the men threw away their arms and knapsacks, lest they might be impeded in their escape. The heavy guns were abandoned, the traces cut, and the horses, covered with fugitives clinging to them on all sides, were spurred forward in the flight. Soon the passage became choked with private conveyances, with terrified civilians, with broken gun carriages, all tumbling and crashing against each other. Wounded horses plunged to and fro in the

midst of the demented mass of human beings. Many were crushed to death. Many threw themselves upon the earth, being either wounded or exhausted, and unable to continue their flight. A few officers indeed endeavored to stem the tide and stop the panic, but their efforts were utterly fruitless. Thus the tumultuous sweep of fugitive wretches continued to roll onward without the least pause or abatement, until they reached Centreville. There the presence of the reserve under General Miles, and especially Blenker's brigade, tended to diminish the disorder to some extent. But this effect was only partial. The great mass continued to hurry forward to Fairfax, to Alexandria, and even to Washington, where they arrived during the ensuing night and day. Our dead and wounded were left on the battlefield. Much heavier losses of artillery and ammunition occurred during the flight than during the engagement. No officer eminent for ability on the Federal side had fallen. The loss of the Rebel army in this particular was much greater than that of their opponents. The only pursuit attempted by the victorious and astonished enemy was made with their cavalry, and the assaults of these were effectually terminated at Centreville by the vigorous charges and deadly aim of Blenker's rifle brigade. That officer even recovered some of the guns which had been abandoned during the flight.

Thus ended the battle, the defeat and the rout of Manassas. At first the loss on the Federal side was supposed to be much greater than actually proved to be the case; as was subsequently demonstrated by the official return made by General McDowell to the Government. According to that return, the Federal army lost four hundred and eighty-one killed, one thousand and eleven wounded, twelve hundred and sixteen missing.

The missing included the prisoners taken by the enemy, and those who, having escaped from the slaughter, never returned to the service. The number of artillery lost was seventeen rifled cannon, eight small-bore guns, twenty-five hundred muskets, and thirty boxes of old firearms. But, though the Rebels had obtained a victory, there never was an instance in which conquerors more signally failed to improve their advantages. One of the highest arts of a military commander, is the art of following up effectually the opportunities which the favor of fortune may have bestowed upon him; and more ability has been displayed by some generals in the skill with which they turned a triumph to good account, than they exhibited in gaining it. Many other generals have shown higher genius in the success with which they have averted the consequences of a defeat, than their successful opponents exhibited in gaining the victory. In the present case it proved almost a barren triumph on the one side, and nearly a harmless repulse on the other. The Rebels might, in the midst of that overwhelming and preposterous panic, have marched upon Washington, entered it, dispersed or captured the officers of the Federal Government, and thus have struck a blow as deadly and decisive as that which Hannibal might have inflicted, if, immediately after the terrible slaughter at Cannæ, he had thundered with his legions at the gates of Rome, and had taken possession of the Eternal City. But, like Hannibal, Beauregard failed to improve the propitious moment; and, that moment being once lost in the vicissitudes of nations, *it never returns again.*

## CHAPTER XI.

THE IMPRESSION PRODUCED ON THE PUBLIC BY THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS—VARIOUS CAUSES OF THE FEDERAL DEFEAT—THE PRECEDING MARCH—INFERIORITY OF NUMBERS—EFFECT OF MASKED BATTERIES—INCOMPETENT OR INEXPERIENCED OFFICERS—REMOTE POSITION OF THE RESERVES—PERNICIOUS PRESENCE OF SPECTATORS—THE COUP-DE-GRACE—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL JOHNSTON'S TROOPS ON THE FIELD—IMMENSE LOSSES OF THE REBEL ARMY—WAS THE DEFEAT IN REALITY A MISFORTUNE TO THE UNION—ITS IMMEDIATE EFFECTS—ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ARMY—ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION—IT BECAME THE MEANS OF AVERTING GREATER CALAMITIES—IT WAS THE CAUSE OF SUBSEQUENT SUCCESS TO THE FEDERAL FORCES.

THE defeat of the Federal army at Manassas overwhelmed the nation with astonishment, indignation and shame. They were *astonished*, because such a catastrophe was previously considered as beyond the range of possibility. They were *indignant*, because they regarded it as the result of inexcusable neglect, incapacity and cowardice. They were *mortified*, because victory had graced the arms of an enemy whom they despised and execrated.

Various theories were subsequently offered to account for the occurrence of this disaster. At the present time, when the excitement and confusion of the crisis have passed away, and men may scrutinize events calmly and dispassionately, it is evident that the causes of it can be easily indicated; so clearly, indeed, as to show that a contrary result must have been almost impossible. A number of adverse events conspired to produce the defeat of the Federal army, though some of these were more



important and more potent than others. In the first place, it was evidently imprudent to exhaust the physical energies of the Federal troops, by marching them from two o'clock in the morning, immediately before engaging the enemy. The physical powers of men have their limits of endurance; and when we remember that the battle continued to rage during the whole day, from sunrise almost until sunset, it is not singular that, toward the termination of the struggle, the strength of the troops should have become exhausted. Nor did the Federal commanders gain anything on the score of secresy, by thus postponing the march until the day of the battle; for the enemy were amply forewarned of their approach when they lay at Centreville.

It is evident also that the number of Federal troops was too small, and was inadequate to the difficult service of assailing and taking Manassas. Not much more than twenty thousand men took part in the engagement; and against these twenty thousand there were arrayed in the end, nearly forty thousand; who, in addition to their superiority in numbers, possessed also an important advantage in being familiar with the ground, in being fresh to the encounter, and in being entrenched behind powerful batteries. The peculiar manner in which these batteries had been arranged contributed greatly to the Federal defeat. The guns of the enemy, in this instance, were placed at irregular and zigzag points, in endless retrocession; so that as soon as the troops which served one of their batteries had been overpowered, and were compelled to give way, they merely fell back upon other guns served by fresh men, who received the advancing victors with a fresh volley of shot and shell. The Federal troops took many of these batteries *seriatim*; they drove the Rebels for more than a mile from battery

to battery ; and yet they still encountered other guns, which were worked with an energy and effect equal to the first. The peculiar manner in which these batteries were hidden added to their formidableness. They were so masked and concealed, either by brushwood or by being planted in holes dug in the ground, with their muzzles only protruding above the surface of the earth, that they were invisible to the assailants, and were thereby rendered more deadly.

It must also be admitted that, though the men fought bravely, many of the subaltern officers were utterly incompetent to perform their duties. There were many majors, colonels, lieutenants, and other officers, who had never received any military training, who possessed no military knowledge or experience, and who were useless on the battle field. Nor will this appear singular when we remember that many of the officers were mere civilians, whose patriotism or ambition had urged them to enter the career of arms, and who had been able to obtain military rank, without possessing a particle of military skill. It is not possible for such men, however intelligent they may be, to acquire a competent knowledge of military affairs by six weeks' drilling. What little they may have been able to learn during that interval would be of small service in the midst of the fearful excitement and confusion of an actual battle. The drill-room is a very different arena from the tumultuous field of strife and blood. A scientific military training is just as indispensable to the officer on land, as it is to the officer at sea. Naval tactics are not more intricate and difficult than those of the land service. Let us suppose that a British fleet of a hundred sail suddenly menaced the Atlantic coast ; that an American fleet of equal strength was sent to attack them ; and that

this fleet was for the most part commanded and officered by men who had never before sailed upon the deep, much less had charge of a vessel, and had only six weeks' experience in studying the details of naval architecture, service and warfare. It is clear that the sailors might be brave, the ships might be staunch, the artillery might be powerful, the officers might be personally heroic; but that such a fleet, in the face of a veteran British armament, would be battered to pieces, and the wrecks of our vessels would soon be scattered far and wide over the ocean and the strand. It must be thus with any land force officered by lawyers, merchants and other civilians, who, in a moment of danger, take commands in it. So incompetent were some of these officers, that it is certain that many of the orders of General McDowell were never delivered to those to whom they were sent; and thus fatal errors were committed, against the express precautions of the chief officer.

It is probable that the position of the reserve under General Miles was much too far in the rear, to be of actual service in the crisis of the battle. Seven miles is manifestly too great a distance to intervene between the main body of an army, and the reinforcements which must be used in the last extremity. If, when the troops of Johnston deployed upon the field, the regiments stationed at Centreville could have marched against them and checked their advance, the issue of the day might have been different. The field was also encumbered with a host of spectators and visitors, whose presence was most pernicious. If all went well, their shouts would indeed rend the heavens and cheer the victors. But if any disaster occurred, they would be the first to set the example of cowardice, and their flight would inevitably become contagious with troops who had

already been disheartened by the duration and difficulty of the struggle. Such actually proved to be the result at Manassas. Prominent in that vast and tumultuous torrent of retreating men were to be seen terrified and frantic civilians; and among the many who, on that day, fled in hot haste, they led the van, and kept it.

It is clear also that many minor blunders were committed which served to consummate the disaster. The unarmed teamsters were permitted to advance with their wagons too near the enemy, and within the range of their attack. The Federal army was not sufficiently provided with cavalry to pursue the retreating foe. Proper care was not taken, when batteries had been captured, to secure possession of them, and turn them upon the Rebels. The left flank and the rear of the Federal army were not suitably guarded against attack. An order to fall back a short distance was mistaken for a general order to retreat. To this must be added the desperate courage of the Rebel troops, the skill and bravery of the Rebel commanders, and the immense advantages of their position.

Nevertheless, all these causes combined together would not have inflicted the repulse at Manassas, had it not been for another and a still more potent cause. It would have been a victory to the Federal arms, or at least a drawn battle, had not the troops of General Johnston arrived by railway from Winchester, and deployed upon the field precisely at the critical moment. That calamity turned the scale with decisive and resistless effect. The prodigious influence produced by the sudden accession of fresh troops on the battle-field, to one side or to the other, after a long and obstinate struggle, has been illustrated by the issue of many of the most memorable conflicts of modern times. Thus, the great battle of



Wagram was lost by the Austrians, after they had in effect wrested the victory from Napoleon by prodigies of valor, because the Archduke John did not reach the field with his reinforcement of eighteen thousand troops, as he had been expressly ordered to do; which accession would have completely broken the exhausted lines of the French. It is well known that at Waterloo, the issue of the day depended entirely upon the fact whether Blücher would arrive with his Prussians to reinforce the English, or Grouchy would arrive with his division to reinforce Napoleon. Blücher rushed upon the field when Wellington was almost frantic with despair, and thereby changed the fortunes of the world. Thus also at the battle of Inkermann, forty thousand Russians attacked fifteen thousand British troops. After a protracted and desperate conflict the latter were about to break, when the arrival of a large French force under General Bosquet decided the issue of the engagement. It was precisely thus with the battle of Manassas. The accession of Johnston's regiments turned the scale, and wrested the triumph from the wearied hands of the exhausted victors.

By whose fault it was that Johnston was permitted to make good his hurried march to Manassas, we are not prepared to say. It was expected that the junction would be prevented by the division under General Robert Patterson; but whether the force under his command was sufficiently large to enable him to achieve that result, it is not for us to determine. General McDowell, however, asserted in his official report of the battle, that it was expressly understood when he assumed the command of the army marching against Manassas, that he was not to encounter the troops of Johnston; and that declaration, thus boldly and publicly made, was never

contradicted. If therefore the force under Patterson was not sufficiently numerous to intercept Johnston, it was a measure of indispensable importance that it should have been rendered such, before the advance of McDowell toward Manassas was commenced.

It was natural that the Rebels should exult with frantic joy, and with boundless exaggeration, over their unexpected victory. The reports which were diffused throughout the Southern States in reference to it exceeded any thing ever exhibited before in the art of misrepresentation. It was confidently asserted that the Federal army had been composed of a hundred thousand men; that twenty thousand had been slain and wounded; that thirty thousand handcuffs had been taken, with which the Federals intended to manacle the defeated Confederates; that sixty pieces of artillery had been captured, with an innumerable number of knapsacks, and with provisions enough to support the Confederate army for months. The result of these fabrications was, that the whole South became still more enthusiastic for the war; and many who, till then, had been reluctant to enter the struggle, now rushed forward, enlisted, and commenced with martial ardor to swarm northward toward Richmond.

Soon, however, this general exultation began to give place to sadder and more sober thoughts, when the details of the losses of the Rebels at Manassas began to be known throughout the South. Then it was that they discovered at what an enormous price their victory had been bought; and, like Pyrrhus of old, after vanquishing the Romans, they might exclaim, that another such triumph would complete their ruin. The Rebels had lost many of their best officers. They made great exertions to conceal the precise number of their dead and

wounded; so much so that even Southern journals complained that the relatives of the soldiers who fought at Manassas, could obtain no information as to whether they were living or dead. Every thing was concealed on that subject for a long time. The reason was, that a knowledge of the real facts would have appalled and disheartened the people by the horrid details involved in them. But such secrecy could not always be preserved; and at length certain revelations began to leak out, which opened the eyes of men as to the actual state of the case. Thus, among other instances, the *Richmond Dispatch*, when applauding the heroism of the eighth Georgia regiment, declared that "at length they withdrew from the fight. Their final rally was made with some sixty men out of the six hundred they took in." This regiment, thus almost annihilated, was succeeded by the seventh Georgia regiment, who actually met the same fate, their commanding officer, Colonel Barton, being killed. One Louisiana regiment lost three hundred men out of eight hundred. The Hampton Legion and an Alabama regiment were almost totally destroyed by the terrible charges of the New York sixty-ninth and seventy-ninth. Single facts like these demonstrate how terrific and overwhelming the grand total loss must have been on the Rebel side. It was manifestly much greater than the Federal loss; and it is not improbable that five or six thousand in killed and wounded were the number of the enemy placed *hors du combat*.

In view of indisputable facts like these, it could scarcely be affirmed that the result of this engagement was very advantageous to the cause of the Rebel republic; while on the other hand, it may with truth be asserted, that under the outward and forbidding guise of a reverse, the general result of the catastrophe at

Manassas was propitious to the interests of the Federal Union. This declaration, which seems very like a paradox or an absurdity, we believe to be strictly true; and we will briefly state the grounds of this opinion. As adversity is often the wisest and best school for the individual learner, so also is it often the wisest and best school for the national learner. Especially in military affairs, a few disasters at the commencement of a war produce a beneficial effect. Many celebrated commanders began their careers with serious defeats, and by those very defeats were taught how afterward to triumph more gloriously. Frederic the Great, to whom reference has already been made, confessed that the first clear insight which he obtained into the military art, was when he was compelled by Charles of Lorraine to retreat with heavy losses from Silesia, at an early stage of the Seven Years War; yet Frederic subsequently became the greatest general of his age. William of Orange, afterward king of England, acquired more military skill from his defeats by the Prince de Condé than by all his other studies and experiences combined. The Emperor Charles V. of Germany, who agitated Europe during many years by his contests with the chivalrous Francis I., generally commenced his campaigns against that monarch with disasters, but invariably closed them with supremacy and triumph.

Now it is well known that the American people began the war against Secession with an undue contempt of the resources and the prowess of the Rebels. No proper conception was entertained of the difficulty and intensity of the struggle which was about to commence. It was generally believed that the Southern soldiers would not fight; that they possessed no powers of physical endurance; that they were enervated by drunkenness and



debauchery; that their conquest would be an easy and rapid achievement. All these were gross and fatal delusions; but the result of their prevalence was, that a spirit of extreme carelessness and frivolity pervaded the Federal army. A reckless temper characterized the public journals. The march to Richmond was to be a grand and exciting hunt for Rebels; and the most rare and excellent sport would be the entertainment of those who took part in the chase, and of those who accompanied it as spectators. With this hilarious spirit the army marched gaily forth toward Manassas. Inexcusable neglect characterized every thing connected with their advance. Their numbers were deficient; their ammunition was not properly supplied; the men had received but little drilling; and some of the officers, it was charged, were on this occasion intoxicated.

Let us suppose that this army had been successful at Manassas; and that, after a short and perhaps a feigned resistance, the Rebel forces had retreated toward Richmond. Elated with the easily-earned victory, entertaining still more contemptuous and absurd sentiments respecting the prowess of the enemy, our troops would have become more reckless and imprudent than before. As they advanced further into the bowels of the hostile country, the dangers which surrounded them would become much greater. Then, at length, when a facile and safe retreat to the entrenchments at Washington would be rendered impossible, even by a Bull Run race; when the army of the Rebels had been increased to three times the number it contained at Manassas; when our officers and soldiers were regardless of prudence and vigilance, another attack would be made upon them. Is it not perfectly evident that the probability, the certainty even, is, that in that dreadful and unequal onslaught

scarcely a single man would have escaped, and that a calamity far greater than that at Manassas would have ensued to the Federal army, to the nation's honor, and to the cause of the Union?

But the effect produced upon the Federal troops by the check at Manassas was instantaneous and redeeming. Their eyes were at once opened to the terrific depths of that abyss toward which they had been madly rushing. They acquired more valuable information by one day of defeat than they would have attained by ten days of victory. The blow brought them to their senses, and sobered them at once. How soon was a new spirit infused into the service! How quickly did the most rigid discipline, the most careful precautions, the most extensive and systematic preparations, take the place of the previous neglect, laxity and bravado! Every department of the army underwent a thorough reformation; and soon there was assembled, under the national colors, a well drilled, well-appointed, formidable force of several hundred thousand men. But nothing of this would have existed, had not the defeat at Manassas taught the nation and the Government wisdom. Therefore, we repeat, that that defeat was in reality not a misfortune, but a benefit to the Federal arms, and to the interests of the Union.

## CHAPTER XII.

INCREASED ENERGY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—EVENTS IN MISSOURI—IMPORTANT BATTLE AT CARTHAGE—RETROGRADE MOVEMENT OF GENERAL LYON TO SPRINGFIELD—PURSUIT OF THE REBELS UNDER GENERALS MCCULLOCH AND PRICE—CONDITION OF THEIR ARMY—REASONS WHY GENERAL LYON ENGAGED THE ENEMY—THE GREAT BATTLE OF SPRINGFIELD—DISPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL FORCES—TEMPORARY SUCCESS OF THE REBELS—INCIDENTS OF THE CONTEST—HEROISM OF GENERAL LYON—HIS LAST EFFORT AGAINST THE ENEMY—ITS SUCCESS—GENERAL LYON'S DEATH—DISCOMFITURE OF GENERAL SIGEL—RESULTS OF THE BATTLE—SKETCH OF GENERAL LYON—HIS RARE MERITS—GENERAL FREMONT MADE COMMANDANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI—HIS POLICY AND MEASURES—HIS ANTI-SLAVERY PROCLAMATION—IT IS MODIFIED BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN—THE WAR AGAINST SECESSION NOT A WAR AGAINST SLAVERY.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Manassas, the Federal Government was busily employed in making every possible preparation to defend Washington against an apprehended attack from the Rebel forces. The loyal States were called upon to send large masses of troops without delay to the Federal Capital. This requisition was speedily and heartily complied with; and in the course of a few weeks, as we have stated, several hundred thousand armed men rallied around the seat of government. At the same time, various other measures, required by the peculiar exigencies of the occasion, were adopted. General McClellan was summoned from Western Virginia to Washington; other officers of merit, including Fremont, Wool, Banks and Lyon, were promoted to positions of importance; and soon the Administration of Mr. Lincoln which seemed by one deadly blow to have

been brought to the very verge of ruin, presented to the enemy a front much more formidable and defiant than that which it had exhibited before the battle of Manassas. No military operations of any importance were destined to occur in that vicinity for several months; but hostilities were carried on with great vigor in the southwestern department of the Republic.

We have already described the process by which the State of Missouri became the scene of conflict between two hostile parties which had arisen within its borders; and how its inhabitants had become much divided on the subject of their allegiance to the Union. The first important conflict which occurred between them, took place at Carthage, on the 5th of July, 1861, where eight thousand Missouri Rebels, commanded by the pseudo-Governor Jackson, attacked two thousand Federal troops, under Colonel Sigel. The battle was a desperate one. Notwithstanding the immense advantage of numbers on the Rebel side, their loss was very heavy, and the general issue of the day was adverse to them. This result was chiefly due to the superior skill with which Colonel Sigel served and directed his artillery. General Lyon, who commanded another Federal force in the State, was ninety miles distant from Carthage at the period of the battle, and was therefore unable to effect a junction with Sigel. Nowhere, in any portion of the Union, had the ruinous effects of civil war been as terrible as within the limits of Missouri; for at this time, throughout a large portion of the State, especially to the south of the Missouri river, solitude and desolation reigned throughout the country. Nearly all the houses and plantations had been deserted by their inhabitants. Wheat, corn, and the various products of the earth, rotted unharvested. In other portions of the State the



dominion of terror prevailed, and there was no protection for life or property to the citizen or the stranger.

As soon as General Lyon received the details of the battle of Carthage, he fell back with the troops under his command to Springfield. He had been informed that a powerful Rebel force under McCulloch and Price were advancing upon him by several different routes. He expected an immediate attack, inasmuch as he was assured that their commissariat was in a miserable condition, and they would be compelled at once literally either to fight or to starve. General Lyon was well aware of the critical nature of his position. The Rebel force had swelled to an immense multitude of desperate, disorderly, and sanguinary adventurers, twenty thousand in number, whose attack, though irregular, would still be energetic and destructive. His own troops did not then exceed five thousand men; but they were well fed and clothed, and provided with a powerful battery of artillery. His army had been increased to that number by the junction of the force under Colonel Sigel; and he made every preparation which an able and skillful commander could possibly employ, to confront and overpower the danger which impended over him. The battle of Springfield, which soon ensued, was one of the most bloody and desperate which had occurred during the progress of the war; and the conduct of General Lyon, on this occasion, covered his name and his memory with enduring renown.

It was on the seventh of August that the Rebel force under McCulloch and Price reached a position twelve miles distant from Springfield. The inhabitants of that town at once became panic-stricken at the proximity of the foe; and earnest appeals were made to General Lyon to induce him to withdraw his troops from the place, and

not to subject it, by his presence, to the horrors of an attack. Many of his officers, discouraged by the immense superiority in numbers which the enemy possessed, regarded the risking of a battle as the height of imprudence; and asserted that it would lead to inevitable defeat. A council of war was called, and a majority were in favor of retreating at once toward Rolla. But General Sweeney earnestly opposed the measure, and General Lyon coincided with his bolder counsel. The considerations which induced the commander to risk a battle were the following:

It was very true, indeed, that his numbers were greatly inferior to those of the enemy. He had repeatedly besought the Federal Government to reinforce him; and had set forth with clearness and power, the reasons which rendered such a course imperative. But the Government was either unable or unwilling to comply and he was left to his fate. But it was also evident that a retreat from Springfield would, at that critical moment, be highly pernicious to the cause of the Union in Missouri, and might produce the most disastrous effects. Thousands would thenceforth regard the Rebels as irresistible, and identify themselves with their side. A defeat even would be preferable after a battle, than a flight without a conflict. But, like a brave and gallant officer, Lyon anticipated a victory even against overwhelming odds; and he resolved to try the issue of a desperate and deadly conflict. His first plan was to make a night attack on the foe; but his arrangements could not be completed until several hours after the appointed time. He then determined to postpone the engagement until the next day. This was Saturday, August 10th, 1861.

At eight o'clock on the preceding evening Colonel

Sigel was ordered to march with his command, with that of Colonel Solomon, in a southward direction from Springfield; to pass around the camp of the enemy unobserved; to take a position in their rear, and when he heard the guns of Lyon's division in the front, to commence an attack on the Rebels. Sigel accomplished this journey by two o'clock on Saturday morning. He had taken six cannon with him. General Lyon advanced from Springfield with all the troops under his command during Friday night, and reached the position of the enemy, nine miles south of that town, at four o'clock in the morning. He then halted until the hour of attack arrived. At six o'clock the action commenced. The Rebels were posted in an advantageous position. Their camp had been placed at the northern end of a verdant vale; but their troops were drawn out to meet the Federals upon the hills which intervened between them and their camp. The pickets of the latter were first driven in. Then Captain Wright, with four companies of mounted Home Guards, skirmished with a small body of horsemen who had taken a position in advance on the left. These were the mere lures of an ambuscade; and, by retiring, they endeavored to draw the Federal detachments into a position of danger. The artifice partly succeeded; for three thousand Rebels rushed upon the Federals, and by superiority of numbers, compelled them to give way.

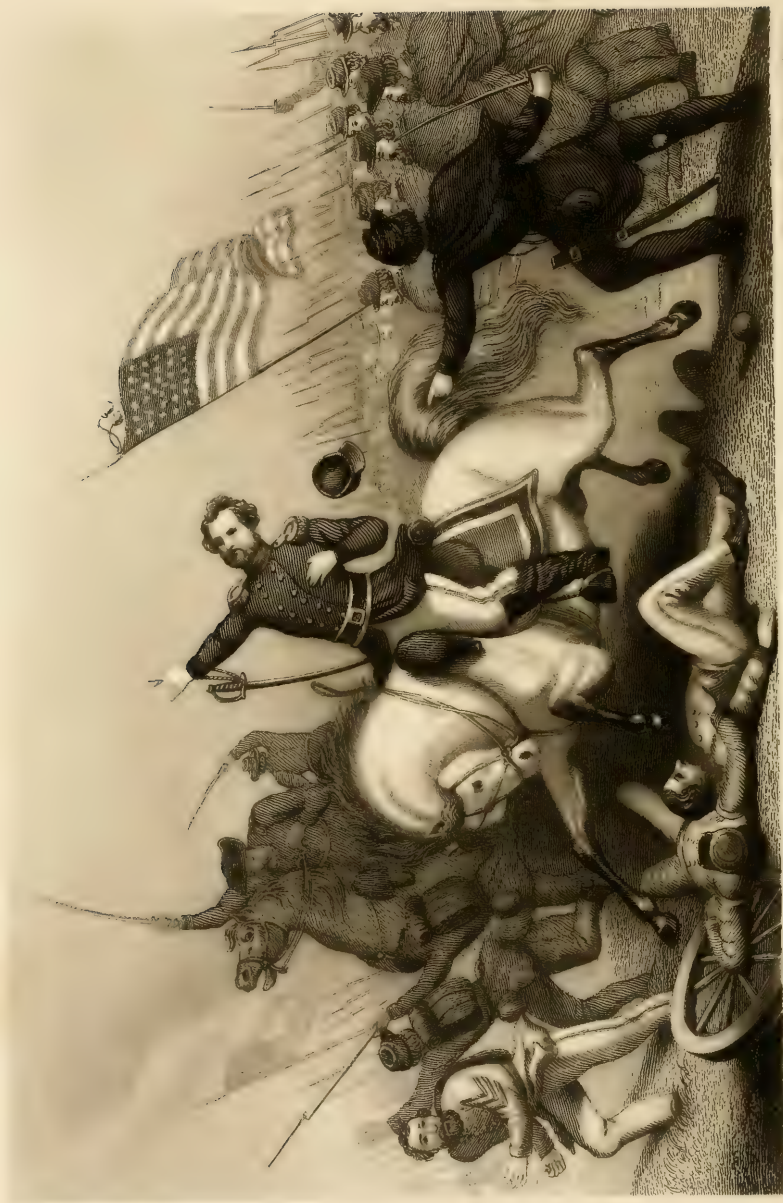
By this time the Federal troops on the other extremity of the line had engaged the enemy. The first Missouri regiment, the battalion of Osterhaus, and the battery of Totten, were advantageously posted on an eminence; and they commenced a vigorous attack upon the Rebel host arrayed against them. Soon the latter broke, and fled in confusion, until they reached the summit of another

hill in the rear. The Federals pursued, but in their advance they encountered a fresh regiment of Louisiana troops. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued between them. This lasted about forty-five minutes. The Rebels were again routed; and as they retired, were pursued till the victors reached the brow of a third eminence. There they encountered another fresh detachment of the enemy, and another desperate contest followed, more furious and deadly than had yet occurred. The contest here was also protracted, and the combatants struggled inch by inch for the possession of the field. The fire of the Rebels was very destructive, and the result was for a time doubtful. Fresh Iowa and Kansas troops were ordered forward to support those already engaged, and were assailed by treble their own numbers. Captain Gratz was slain while gallantly leading forward his men. Lieutenant Brown was disabled by a severe scalp wound, and was carried to the rear. The slaughter on both sides was fearful. The powerful batteries of Totten and Dubois, which were admirably served, mowed down the serried ranks of the enemy like frost work, and covered the ground with heaps of the wounded and the slain. But the vast numbers of the Rebels enabled them to repair their losses with new detachments, and to hurl back the tide of death upon their assailants.

Thus the action became general between both armies along the whole line. The chief brunt of the battle had been borne by the Missouri, the Iowa and the Kansas regiments. General Lyon had superintended all the operations of the Federal troops. He rode fearlessly from regiment to regiment, encouraging the men, and giving the necessary orders. He had received two wounds, which, though painful, were not dangerous. Still he rode from rank to rank, inspired with a heroism







which, by voice and gesture, he endeavored to communicate to his men. He well knew the mighty and overwhelming odds against which he and they contended; and when he saw unusual acts of steadiness and bravery, he cheered the actors with almost boyish ardor. He had feared, before the battle began, that the first Iowa regiment, under Colonel Merritt, would not prove staunch when made to confront the foe. When, however, he saw them pass into action under a heavy fire with the utmost firmness; assault the enemy with the vigor and energy of veterans; compel the successive masses of fresh troops which the Rebels brought forward to recoil; relieve the first Missouri regiment which, after two hours of fighting, were nearly exhausted and were about giving way, and thus recover the advantage over the exultant foe; when General Lyon observed all this he cheered the Iowa regiment heartily, and expressed his admiration of them with the utmost enthusiasm.

At length that heroic commander resolved to make a still more vigorous and combined effort to overpower the Rebel host and secure the victory. He gave the order to prepare to make a general bayonet charge. When all was ready and the troops were about to advance, it was discovered that the commanding officer of the Iowas was missing. No time was to be lost, and General Lyon exclaimed: "Come on, brave men! I will lead you!" At the head of the gallant Iowas he rode forward toward the enemy, whose inexhaustible numbers still swelled up toward them like the tumultuous tides of an endless and fathomless sea. The charge was made, the enemy wavered and fled after a terrific collision; but General Lyon, during the struggle, was slain. He received a ball in the side, fell from his horse, and immediately expired. About the same moment General Sweeney was

wounded in the leg and disabled. The command then devolved upon Major Sturgis. The partial retreat of the enemy now caused an interval of twenty minutes in the firing, after which they made a fresh assault. That assault was their most desperate one, but it was their last. The field was already covered with bleeding and mangled multitudes of their dead and wounded. Their immense hordes had been greatly thinned by the heroic and desperate valor of the Federal troops; but the fire of Totten's battery, with the general energy and bravery of our men, again shattered and broke their columns, and again they fled. It was now eleven o'clock, and during five hours the battle had raged. Before retiring the enemy set fire to thirty or forty wagons, lest they might fall into the hands of the victors.

At this time, though the Federal troops had gained a decisive victory, they were unable to continue the contest or to make a pursuit. The reason was because the ammunition of Totten's battery had become exhausted, and because the death and wounds of so many officers on the Federal side diminished their confidence and vigor. Moreover, it had been ascertained that the troops under Sigel had been unfortunate, and had not effectually carried out their portion of the programme. As soon as that officer heard the guns of Lyon in the front of the enemy, he approached the scene of conflict and commenced an attack. But he was met and overwhelmed by so vast a body of Rebel troops that, after a brief but vigorous contest, he was defeated, and compelled to give way. He lost five of his guns and many of his men, and effected nothing in favor of the Federal troops who were operating in front. He succeeded afterward in making his escape with the larger portion of his command. After the conclusion of the battle the whole of the



Federal army retired in good order to Springfield, and still later to Rolla, under the skillful guidance of Colonel Sigel; the defeated foe making no effort to pursue them. The loss of the Federal troops was considerable, being about two hundred killed and seven hundred wounded. They took four hundred horses and seventy prisoners. The loss of the enemy was much greater than our own, though the precise number is unknown to us. The battle-field was covered with gory heaps of their dead and wounded. Their vast superiority in numbers, and their formidable batteries of twenty-one guns, were the sole causes that they maintained the contest so long, and the reason why their defeat was not still more disastrous. The praise of superior bravery, steadiness and skill, belonged to the little band of heroes who, on this bloody day, fought for the honor and supremacy of the immortal Stars and Stripes. Many of them now sleep in a soldier's grave; but the noblest and bravest of them all was he who commanded them, and led them to victory.

The war for the Union has not failed to develop instances of the most exalted patriotism and valor, which will forever elicit the grateful pride and enthusiasm of every lover of his country. One of the most remarkable of those who have challenged the close and admiring scrutiny of mankind was the conqueror of the Rebel hordes at Springfield. General Nathaniel Lyon was one of the genuine heroes of this stormy and disastrous time. There was no hypocritical sham, no false or arrogant pretence, no mean or selfish impulse about him. His character realized, with rare completeness and clearness, Carlyle's definition of what constitutes a genuine hero. Said that profound thinker, in his fourth lecture on Heroes and Hero worship: "We have repeatedly endeavored to explain that all sorts of heroes are intrinsi-

cally of the same material; that, given a great soul open to the divine significance of life, then there is given a man fit to speak of this, to sing of this, *to fight and work* for this, in a great, victorious, enduring manner; there is given a hero, the outward shape of whom will depend on the time and the environment he finds himself in."\* Every characteristic of General Lyon, and every act which he performed, indicated the presence and power of such a heroic soul within him.

Nathaniel Lyon was born at Ashford, Connecticut, in the year 1819. He was well descended; and his ancestors on his mother's side distinguished themselves in the Revolutionary War. One of those ancestors was the famous Colonel Knowlton, who commanded the Connecticut troops at the "Old Rail Fence," on the left wing of the patriot army at Bunker Hill. He was afterward killed at the battle on Harlem Heights, near New York. The future hero of Springfield gave indications of superior talent at an early age; but the tendency of his mind was toward mathematical studies and mechanical contrivances. Having chosen the military profession, he entered the Academy at West Point. He graduated with honor in 1841, entered the regular service, rapidly rose to the rank of captain, and distinguished himself in the Mexican war. He displayed superior skill and bravery at Vera Cruz, Contreras, Cherubusco, and was wounded while fighting near the Belam Gate, in the city of Mexico. After the termination of the war he was engaged in active service in Missouri and California. His reputation stood high in both of those States. When the war of Secession began, he was chosen by the Missouri volunteers as their brigadier general. During the

\* Heroes, Hero Worship, and the Heroic in History, by Thomas Carlyle, page 133.

course of his adventurous life he had been familiar with the most difficult and dangerous kinds of service in Texas, Oregon, Kansas, and along the whole border of the western and southwestern territory of the United States. He was, therefore, particularly adapted to command the Federal troops in Missouri; and his courageous spirit found a congenial theatre for the exercise and display of its peculiar attributes amid the tumultuous camps, the desolate wastes, and all the semi-barbarous scenes connected with warfare in the outskirts of civilization. He was remarkable for his patriotic devotion to his country, and for the eagerness with which he sprang forward to her defence on every occasion of danger. To her he gave his best services, and his life. To her it may with truth be said, he devoted his all, for even his property he devised by his will to the cause of the Union. Being unmarried, and without domestic dependents, he felt at liberty to devote his wealth to that object which, above all others, he loved best; and, like his immortal ancestors of the revolution, he consecrated to his country his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor. The deeds and fame of such a man present a rare and grateful theme of contemplation. When he marched against the enemy at Springfield he well knew, that the immense superiority of numbers on the side of the Rebels would inevitably entail a heavy loss upon his troops, and that his life would probably be the forfeit of his boldness. But he also felt that the cause of the Union demanded an heroic venture; he willingly made it; and he met a soldier's death on the field of honor and of victory.

The Federal Government discovered the necessity, at an early stage of the Rebellion, of forming a military department in Missouri, of which St. Louis should be the

capital and the centre; and of placing it under the command of an officer of ability, experience and patriotism. The person selected to fill this post was General John C. Fremont, who had already distinguished himself in the annals of American conquest and exploration. When the Rebellion commenced, his services were demanded by the Government, and were rendered with the utmost promptitude. After his removal to St. Louis he was laboriously engaged in the performance of the duties of his office; in fortifying that city; in organizing the department; in raising an army; and in preparing to defend the Union against the attacks of its foes in Missouri. In this station he was annoyed, and perhaps impeded, by the hostility of Colonel Frank P. Blair; who entertained the opinion that General Fremont did not exhibit the energy and capacity which the crisis demanded. In this judgment, however, the administration at Washington did not, for a long time, concur, and Fremont retained his difficult and responsible position.

His most important and noteworthy act was the issuing of a proclamation, by which he endeavored to strike a powerful and deadly blow at the institution of slavery. In that proclamation he proclaimed, by virtue of the authority vested in him, that "the property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use; and *their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared freemen.*" This decisive step was hailed by the Abolitionists throughout the country with enthusiasm and exultation. They affirmed that now, at length, the axe had been laid to the root of the tree; that the only true policy was therein indicated; that all men would now



be convinced that this was pre-eminently a war against slavery; and that in proportion as the cause of the Union triumphed, it would, in that same degree, overturn the peculiar and execrable institution of the Rebel States. But the more conservative people of the North and the West regarded this proclamation of Fremont with very different feelings. To them it appeared like a dangerous and illegal, though well-meant, exercise of power; as subserviency to a fanatical faction, which, as they thought, had always been the bane and curse of the nation; and as an attempt to assert a false theory, to the effect that the war against the Rebels was in substance and chiefly a crusade against slavery.

The latter opinion was the one entertained in reference to the matter by the administration at Washington; and accordingly, Mr. Lincoln immediately addressed a letter to General Fremont, directing him so to modify his proclamation as to make it correspond with the provisions of the act of Congress which appertained to the subject, and which had been passed during the late extra session. That act expressly provided that whenever slaves should be required or permitted by their masters and owners, to take up arms against the United States, or to assist the Rebellion in any manner whatever, in such cases only the said slaves shall become free, and their former owners shall forfeit all their right, title and interest in them. This modification of General Fremont's decree was very essential and material. It effectually contradicted the erroneous assertion that this was a war against slavery, as such; and it thereby disarmed the Rebels of one of the most potent levers with which they controlled public sentiment and intensified popular prejudice at the South. Nor could any more efficient expedient have been employed to render the war unpopular even

throughout the Free States, than to diffuse abroad this delusion, that the war *was* in reality a mere crusade against slavery. On the contrary, it must be regarded by every intelligent and impartial observer, as simply an attempt to restore and to perpetuate the dissevered Union. Whatever lawful agencies would assist in accomplishing that beneficent result, were employed. As a war to preserve the Union it received the hearty support of the nation; but as an Abolition war, strictly speaking, it would have been rejected and discountenanced by a large proportion of those very men, whose blood and treasure were most lavishly expended in its prosecution.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE FEDERAL EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE REBEL FORTS AT HATTERAS—THE FORCES APPROPRIATED TO THIS ENTERPRISE—IMPORTANCE OF HATTERAS AND ITS POSSESSION—SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION—THE BOMBARDMENT—THE SURRENDER OF THE FORTS—COMMODORE BARRON—COMMODORE STRINGHAM—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY AT HATTERAS—OPERATIONS OF ROSECRANZ IN WESTERN VIRGINIA—BATTLE AT CARNIFEX FERRY—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF FLOYD—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY—EVENTS IN MISSOURI—COLONEL MULLIGAN'S FORCES AT LEXINGTON—HE IS ATTACKED BY GENERAL PRICE—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON—SURRENDER OF COLONEL MULLIGAN—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—BATTLE AT BOLIVAR—SKETCH OF ITS HERO, COLONEL GEARY—THE BATTLE OF BALLS BLUFF—GENERAL STONE—APPREHENSIONS OF COLONEL BAKER—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—DEFEAT AND ROUT OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS—DEATH OF COLONEL BAKER—NATIONAL SORROW AT HIS FATE—SKETCH OF HIS REMARKABLE CAREER—RESULTS OF THE DISASTER AT BALLS BLUFF.

IN the great and perilous game of war success frequently alternates from side to side, and he who exults over the laurels of victory to-day, to-morrow may be overwhelmed by the mortification and calamities of defeat. The war against the Southern Rebellion was no exception to this rule: the disaster of Bull Run was quickly followed by the triumph of the Federal arms at Hatteras.

The Federal Government had contemplated for some time an armed descent upon the coast of North Carolina, and had been quietly making preparations for such a movement. A combined land and naval force was placed under the orders of Commodore Stringham and General

Butler. The former commanded the Atlantic blockading squadron, the latter a portion of the troops at Fortress Monroe. The fleet which transported the expedition comprised the flag-ship *Minnesota*, the *Adelaide*, the *George Peabody*, the *Pawnee*, the *Susquehanna*, the *Wabash*, the *Cumberland*, the *Harriet Lane*, and the *Fanny*,—vessels of different sizes and armaments. About a thousand land troops were placed under the orders of General Butler; a smaller naval force served under the Commodore.

The special object of the expedition was the capture of the forts which had been erected on Cape Hatteras. This position was one of great importance to the enemy. It was the chief defense of the coast of North Carolina. The principal fort was of considerable strength, containing ten heavy guns in position, with five unmounted. The works were nearly surrounded by water, the only approach on the land side being through a marsh five hundred yards wide. One of the forts contained a bomb-proof capable of protecting four hundred men. Its form was octagonal, and it covered nearly an acre of ground. Both forts were abundantly provided with ammunition and provisions, and were occupied by a large body of troops. The place was the key of the Albemarle, and was second in importance only to Fortress Monroe, on the Atlantic coast, as a depot for furnishing supplies to a blockading squadron, as a harbor for the coasting trade, and as a retreat either from stress of weather, or from the pursuit of pirates. It was an advantageous position, from which expeditions could start forth along the shore of Carolina to Bogue Inlet, to Newbern, and to Beaufort.

The fleet sailed from Fortress Monroe on Monday, August 26th, and arrived off Hatteras Inlet on Tuesday



afternoon. Preparations were immediately made to disembark the troops, and early the next morning the process began. But a stiff gale blew from the southwest, and a heavy surf was breaking and rolling upon the beach. This rendered the task a difficult and dangerous one; so that when three hundred and fifteen men had been landed, the iron boats were swamped and the flat boats were stove. This disaster put an end to the landing. An effort was subsequently made by Lieutenant Crosby to reach the shore in a boat from the war steamer Pawnee. But the boat was beached in the attempt, so that she could not be got off. The wind then rose higher, and the sea became still rougher, so that all further attempts to convey the troops on shore were abandoned.

During this interval the ships of war had hauled in, and commenced to cannonade the forts. Only one of these responded to our guns. Immediately afterward a white flag was run up on the forts, which the Federal commanders interpreted as a signal of surrender. General Butler then ordered the Harriet Lane to attempt to cross the bar and enter the smooth water, accompanied by the Monticello; and the Susquehanna towed the Cumberland to an offing, for the purpose of completing the capitulation. But the enemy either practiced an act of perfidy, or had changed their purpose, for on the approach of these vessels they renewed their fire, and several shots struck the Monticello. The fleet immediately recommenced the bombardment and continued it with spirit. The troops on shore then advanced to attack the forts. They found the smaller one deserted, and they took possession of it. Night fell, and the attack was necessarily suspended. Part of the Federal

troops on shore occupied the forts; the remainder bivouacked on the beach near the place of landing.

At eight o'clock on the ensuing morning the fleet resumed the attack. The *Harriet Lane* ran in to the shore for the purpose of protecting the troops on land. In this movement a large steamer was observed moving down the sound. It was the *Winslow*, and contained reinforcements for the enemy. But they were prevented from accomplishing their purpose by the vigilance of Captain Johnson, who opened a fire upon the Rebel steamer with several guns from a sand battery on the shore. The vessel then returned up the channel, leaving the forts to their fate. The cannonading from the ships now became heavy, and did great execution. An attempt was made to land an additional number of troops. Before this purpose could be accomplished, a white flag was again run up from the remaining fort. A signal was made to the ships to cease firing. General Butler sent an officer on shore to ascertain the meaning of the flag. That officer proceeded to the fort, and was received by Commodore Barron, the commander of the Rebel forces. He authorized Lieutenant Crosby to communicate to the Federal officers the fact that he had six hundred and fifteen men in the fort, but was anxious to spare the effusion of blood; and would consequently surrender the fort, arms and munitions of war, provided the officers were permitted to retire with their side arms, and the men without arms. To this proposition General Butler replied that it was wholly inadmissible; and that the only terms which could be accepted were an unconditional surrender of officers and men, who were to be treated as prisoners of war.

On receiving these conditions, Commodore Barron summoned a council of war, and submitted the matter to

their consideration. Each of these heroes advised an immediate surrender. It was at this moment that several vessels of the Federal fleet had gotten into a perilous position, of which the Rebels might with ordinary energy and vigilance have taken decisive advantage. The *Adelaide*, in carrying the troops to the shore, ran aground. The *Harriet Lane*, in attempting to enter the bar, met the same fate. Both vessels were within full range of the guns of the fort, and both might have been seriously disabled and damaged. But they failed to take advantage of the opportunity. General Butler now informed the Rebel commodore that if the terms were accepted, the articles of capitulation must be signed on board the flag ship *Minnesota*. At length, after the deliberation of an hour, the terms were accepted by the enemy, and Commodore Barron, Major Andrews and Colonel Martin, proceeded to that vessel and formally surrendered the forts to the United States; the parties stipulating that the officers and men should receive the treatment due to prisoners of war. The instrument was duly signed and sealed, by Messrs. Stringham and Butler for the United States, and by Messrs. Barron, Martin and Andrews, for the Confederate States. Immediately afterward General Butler landed, took formal possession of the forts and munitions of war, inspected the troops and their arms, marched them out, embarked them on board the *Adelaide*, manned the fort with his own troops, hoisted the stars and stripes, and saluted them with the very guns which had been shotted by the captive enemy.

On the following day the Rebel troops were transferred to the *Minnesota*, which sailed for New York. A large number of Rebels had been killed and wounded during the bombardment, though the exact amount of their loss was carefully concealed. They reported fifteen killed

and thirty-five wounded. During the attack all the war vessels of the fleet took part, and the cannonading was at certain periods very heavy. The capture of these forts was an event of decisive importance. They had become a pernicious and piratical nest, which seriously injured the commerce of the United States, and their possession was an achievement greatly to be desired. It astonished and terrified the Rebel States excessively, and was with justice regarded by them as a heavy calamity.

The chief praise of this success is justly due to Commodore Stringham, the commander of the fleet. This officer occupies a distinguished place in the American navy. He is a native of Orange county, New York, and entered the service as a midshipman in 1809. Twenty-two years of his life have been passed at sea. He rose gradually from rank to rank, and successively commanded the Falmouth of the East India squadron, the John Adams of the Mediterranean squadron, the Independence of the Home squadron, the Ohio of the Brazil squadron, and other vessels. He has also been the commandant of the Brooklyn, the Norfolk and the Charlestown Navy Yards. When the administration of Mr. Lincoln determined on the blockade of the southern ports, he was summoned to Washington, and ordered to take command of the blockading squadron whose operations lay between Cape Charles, at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay on the north, as far as Key West on the south. A large fleet containing twenty-five vessels, manned by three thousand five hundred sailors and marines, was placed under his command. His first expedition proved eminently successful. The part performed in it by General Butler, the commander of the land forces, though commendable, was of secondary importance to that achieved by the gallant commodore. The



official reports of the expedition, however, were chiefly drawn up by General Butler.

After the removal of General McClellan to Washington, the command of the Federal troops in Western Virginia was conferred on Brigadier General William S. Rosecrans, who had already distinguished himself in the events which had transpired in that portion of the Union. This officer, a native of Ohio, was born about 1821, and entered the Academy of West Point in 1838. He graduated in 1842, and received an appointment as Second Lieutenant of Engineers. For a year afterward he officiated as Assistant Professor of Engineering at West Point, subsequently of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and again of engineering, till 1847. In 1853 he was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. In 1854 he resigned his functions in that institution, entered civil life, and commenced manufacturing operations in Ohio. Immediately after the opening of the war he tendered his services to the Federal Government. They were accepted, and he was assigned a position under General McClellan in Western Virginia. His ability in this new position justified the confidence which had been reposed in him.

Immediately after receiving the supreme command of the Federal forces in Virginia, Rosecrans commenced to augment and strengthen them. A large Rebel army under Floyd was now approaching him, and at length, on Tuesday, September 10th, an engagement took place between them at Carnifex Ferry, on the Gauley river. The battle was the most important and severe which had yet been fought in Western Virginia. The Rebels were well entrenched. They had six regiments of troops and a large number of artillery. The Federal forces reached the fortified position of the enemy after a march of

eighteen miles. Their pickets were driven in and an attack immediately commenced. The battle began at half-past three o'clock, and continued four hours. The entrenchments of Floyd were erected on the west side of the Gauley river, and were so surrounded by dense forests as to be almost hidden from view.

The tenth Ohio regiment were ordered by General Rosecrans to commence the attack, they being in the advance. The thirteenth Ohio followed, together with the twelfth. The Rebels received the assault with spirit, and a hot fire was poured upon the Federal troops from cannon and all sorts of small arms. McMullen's howitzer battery and Snyder's two field pieces responded with much effect. Their sharpshooters succeeded in picking off some of the Federal officers. Colonel Lowe was killed. Colonel Lyttle was wounded. But the fire of the Rebels grew feebler as night approached. Rosecrans then drew off his men, and they lay upon their arms in front of the enemy's works during the night, ready to resume the attack with the ensuing dawn. But Floyd fled during the darkness. He effected his escape by the ford and a bridge over the Gauley, in his rear. It is evident that his retreat was precipitate, for he left behind him his camp equipage, much of his ammunition and stores, several colors, and a large number of cattle. Rosecrans then took possession of the vacated entrenchments; but he thought it prudent not to pursue the retreating enemy, who was probably hastening to unite his forces with those of Henry A. Wise. The Federal loss was twenty killed and one hundred wounded. By this decisive action, which the flight of the foe prevented from being still more disastrous to his arms, that part of Western Virginia was released from the presence and supremacy of the Rebel troops. The extremely rugged

nature of the country through which Floyd retreated, composed of deep ravines and rugged mountains, rendered the pursuit of him not only difficult, but scarcely remunerative to the victors. The latter were all Ohio troops, and they exhibited unusual coolness and fortitude during the engagement, and when surrounded by a deluge of shot and shell.

The great battle of Springfield was indecisive in its results, and Missouri still remained the abode of a divided and hostile population, and the destined theatre of future warlike and bloody events. In the early portion of September a powerful Rebel force was collected by General Sterling Price, and with these he commenced a march toward Lexington. That city had been occupied and fortified by Colonel Mulligan, with a number of Federal troops; although, as seemed to be generally the case with the Federal commanders in the southwest, they were inferior in numbers to the armaments brought against them.

Colonel Mulligan had fortified Lexington by heavy earthworks ten feet in height, and by a ditch twelve feet in width. The number of troops under his command was about three thousand; that of General Price was about fifteen thousand. On Thursday, September 12th, General Price reached the scene of conflict, and immediately commenced operations by driving in the Federal pickets. Mulligan ordered out four companies to confront the advanced guard of the enemy. These were about five thousand in number. The Federal troops attacked them with spirit, killing a large number, but were compelled to retire within the entrenchments. Price followed with six guns, and commenced to fire upon the college building in which the ammunition and provisions of Mulligan were stored. This attack commenced at three

o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till nightfall. Mulligan responded with his five guns with effect. He silenced one of the cannon of the Rebels, knocking it to pieces, and killed about seventy-five men. But when his firing ceased all his ammunition had been expended. The engagement on the 12th was adverse to the enemy; they had lost a greater number in killed and wounded than their opponents, and had accomplished nothing. They did not renew the attack on the ensuing day.

It was not until the morning of the 17th that the Rebels were prepared to recommence the conflict. During this interval they had received reinforcements, and were now able to surround the city completely, and cut off all access to the river. At eight o'clock a signal gun from General Price's head-quarters announced the opening of the battle. His numerous artillery poured upon the Federal troops and entrenchments a tremendous shower of shot and shell, to which Mulligan replied with his guns, as well as his limited means permitted. The battle lasted from the 17th to the 20th. During the first two days the Rebels accomplished nothing, and advanced no nearer the entrenchments than they had been at first. On the 19th they commenced to erect breastworks of hemp bales, from behind which they continued to fire, and which, from time to time, they rolled nearer to the position of the Federals. About three o'clock on that day the enemy made a charge, and flouted their colors upon the summit of the Federal breastworks. Mulligan ordered the Irish brigade, who were posted on the opposite side of the works, to leave their position and retake the entrenchments of which the enemy had gained possession. This order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity; and, as seems to be the invariable fact during this war



in every case in which the Irish have been brought into action, they charged with such impetuosity and heroism as to completely overpower the enemy. They regained possession of the entrenchments, killed and wounded about three hundred, and captured their colors. Colonel Mulligan, who led the charge in person, was wounded, and his clothes were perforated by six balls. This decisive repulse put an end to the operations of that day.

On the 20th the enemy recommenced the battle. During this day they made several desperate charges upon the works, and were as frequently repulsed with great slaughter. Still, the losses on the Federal side were heavy; and although Colonel Mulligan and his men fought with the utmost heroism, there were causes which rendered their ultimate defeat inevitable. During this day they exploded six mines successively, under the advancing Rebel forces, destroying them by hundreds. At length, at four o'clock, it became impossible to continue the contest any longer. Colonel Mulligan and his men had been destitute of water for several days; all their ammunition was expended; and one half of their cannon had been silent for some time, for want of balls. During the progress of the entire attack the Federal troops had been casting their own round shot at a foundry within the city, and even that resource had at last been exhausted. Retreat by the river had been cut off by the Rebels who swarmed upon the shores, and took possession of all the boats. The surrender was therefore unavoidable, though a decisive *moral* victory had been achieved by the dauntless heroism displayed by the Federal troops. It was computed that, before the end of the contest, the number of men who had collected under the Rebel banners at Lexington amounted to twenty-five

thousand. They had sixteen cannon, and were provided with ammunition in abundance. Their loss was heavy, not less than a thousand in killed and wounded. The loss of the Federals was about one hundred killed and three hundred wounded. So deeply was the Rebel commander impressed with the bravery of Colonel Mulligan and his troops, that, at the surrender, he refused to accept the colonel's sword; declaring with a magnanimity worthy of a better cause, that he was too brave an officer to be deprived of his arms, and well deserved to keep them. Colonel Mulligan and his troops became prisoners of war.

Colonel James A. Mulligan, whose heroism thus stamped his name indelibly upon the annals of this contest, was born in Utica, New York, in 1829. His parents were natives of Ireland. He was educated at the Catholic College of Chicago. In that city he studied law and was admitted to the bar. In 1857 he accepted a clerkship in the Department of the Interior at Washington. After spending a year in the Federal Capital, he returned to Chicago, and was elected captain of the Shields' Guards. When the war broke out he entered zealously into the contest, and proceeded to Washington with a letter, penned by Senator Douglas on his death-bed, commending him to the confidence of the Administration. He had been elected colonel of the Irish regiment, whose services the Government at once accepted. The rest of his public history is summed up in the heroic struggle of which Lexington was the memorable scene.

It is a remarkable circumstance, which must have attracted the attention of every intelligent observer of the war against Secession, that the arena of the conflict was one of unusually vast and extensive circuit. It

spread over thousands of miles; and at one and the same moment events of vital importance occurred at the most remote and distant points. In this respect few parallels are presented to it in the annals of modern warfare.

From the shores of the Missouri river we return to the shores of the Potomac; from the entrenchments of Lexington to the rugged heights near Harper's Ferry; from the achievements of Mulligan to those of Geary. On the 16th of October a battle occurred at Bolivar, between several Rebel regiments from Mississippi and Alabama, and several regiments of Federal troops, commanded by Colonel Geary. Three thousand Rebels took a position on Bolivar Heights, and challenged their opponents to an engagement. The challenge was accepted; they were soon driven from their position; and one of their heavy guns was captured. Their loss in killed and wounded was considerable. During this action Colonel Geary and his men exhibited much coolness and gallantry. This officer had already attained a name of some distinction in the annals of his country; and his daring spirit and superior abilities seemed destined to conduct him to still greater eminence. He figured with credit in the Mexican war, and was promoted for his meritorious conduct at Cerro Gordo and the city of Mexico. In 1848 he took up his residence in San Francisco, and was chosen the first Mayor of that city. In July, 1856, he was appointed Governor of Kansas by Mr. Buchanan; and he continued to act as the chief magistrate of the Territory until March, 1857. He then retired to private life until the commencement of the war, when his services were tendered to the Government and accepted. After his removal with his regiment to "Point of Rocks," he exhibited superior vigilance, activity and ability, in the performance of his military duties.

At a later period his merits were justly rewarded, by his promotion to the rank of brigadier general.

On the 21st of October a portion of the Federal army of the Potomac, which had already spent a considerable period of time in apparent inactivity, was put into motion; but with so little skill as to lead to the most disastrous results. The division under General Stone had been posted between Washington and Harper's Ferry. That officer commanded Colonel Baker of the California regiment, to cross the river opposite Leesburg, and obtain possession of the Virginia shore, so that the remainder of his division and that of General Banks, might afterward pass over unmolested by the enemy. This order was to be executed by a body of eighteen hundred men, consisting of portions of the California regiment, of the Massachusetts fifteenth, and of the New York Tamany regiment.

When Colonel Baker received the order to make this movement, he expressed his surprise at it, and intimated that, under the circumstances, it was equivalent to his own death warrant and a disaster to the Federal arms. Nevertheless he prepared instantly to obey it. Never was an important military operation attempted under more unpropitious circumstances. General Stone had provided no proper means for transporting the troops; and what was more portentous still, he had neglected to furnish any facilities for escape across the river, should his forces be compelled to retreat. Three miserable scows were procured to convey the Federal troops to the Virginia side. Scarcely had they reached the opposite shore, about nine o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when they were attacked by the Rebels with an overwhelming superiority of numbers. Notwithstanding this disadvantage the Federal troops fought with the utmost



desperation; and stood their ground with heroic firmness, during a large portion of the day. But in the afternoon the Rebels received heavy reinforcements, which gave them a superiority which was resistless. In vain did the bravest of men sternly confront their foes. In vain were prodigies of valor lavishly wasted. The overwhelming masses of the Rebels, led on by General Evans of South Carolina, surrounded them on all sides. Renewed assaults exhausted their failing energies. No reinforcements came, as they should have come, to the Union troops. General Stone seemed strangely to have forgotten the men whom he had ordered into the jaws of destruction. The result was that, toward the close of the day, the Rebels were victorious, in spite of the utmost fortitude on the part of the forces under Colonel Baker. The Rebels drove the latter to the brink of the steep bluff which bordered the river; and afterward, they poured their deadly fire upon the unwilling fugitives below, while they sought to flee over the stream, and beyond the reach of the guns of their assailants. The most necessary means of transport for the troops not having been provided, many perished beneath the waves. Many were slain by the sharpshooters of the Rebels, as they stood defenceless upon the shore. But before the flight began, Colonel Baker had fallen while cheering on his men to a most desperate charge. Never did a patriot and hero perish in a more noble cause, or under more glorious circumstances. While urging on his men to the unequal combat, he was pierced with five bullets. It was with difficulty that his body was rescued from the desecrating touch of the triumphant foe. Lieutenant Colonel Wistar, an able and valuable officer, was severely wounded during the engagement, in which he had distinguished himself by his coolness and his valor. The

broken remains of the Federal troops—the victims either of official stupidity or of official perfidy—reached the opposite banks of the Potomac in the most pitiable plight. They were destitute of every thing necessary to their comfort. With great difficulty the wreck of this brave corps made their way back to their former encampment. The loss of Colonel Baker, who died the most heroic death which could be suffered by an officer of the army of the Union, was one of the chief incidents connected with this unfortunate expedition.

The report of the death of Edward Dickinson Baker overwhelmed the community with profound sorrow; for he had gained their admiration and esteem in an eminent degree. He fully merited the popular interest which he had excited. He was in truth a remarkable man; his life and genius were marvelous and romantic. He had been left an orphan in his youth; and he became the sole architect of his high fame and fortune. He crossed the snowy Alleghenies on foot, at the commencement of his public career, and sought in the then remotest West, the most inviting arena for his exertions. He there devoted himself to the profession of the law, and at the bar of Springfield, Illinois, his eloquence made him the formidable and justly feared antagonist of Douglas and Lincoln. He was sent to Congress from that State in 1845, and he soon distinguished himself in the national councils. In the Mexican war, his demeanor was that of a brave and skillful soldier. At San Francisco, whither his adventurous disposition afterward allured him, he took exalted rank as an orator and a statesman. Over the bleeding remains of his chivalrous friend Broderick, who was killed in a duel, he delivered one of the most magnificent and touching orations which ever fell from human lips. That oration was charac-

terized by such overwhelming pathos, by such brilliant and gorgeous images, by such appropriate and impressive reflections, that it produced a profound and indelible impression upon a whole generation of readers. It created for him a national reputation. It was a masterpiece, which alone would have rendered his name immortal. After taking his seat in the Federal Congress as Senator from Oregon, he delivered a powerful address in answer to a specious argument of Mr. Breckinridge, superior to any other which the events of the Rebellion had yet elicited. As an officer he was equally admirable—prudent, dauntless, patriotic. He passed away prematurely from the stage of action; but his memory will live with fadeless beauty and lustre in the hearts of myriads of his admiring countrymen.

In the battle of Balls Bluff the loss of the Federal troops was very heavy. It is probable that the killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to nearly a thousand men. The circumstances under which this disaster occurred, added greatly to the intensity of that emotion of mingled indignation and regret, with which the nation beheld the slaughter or the captivity of so large a number of their bravest and best troops.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PECULIARITIES ON THE WAR AGAINST SECESSION—FEDERAL EXPEDITION UNDER COMMODORE DUPONT AND GENERAL SHERMAN—ITS DEPARTURE FROM ANNAPOLIS—ITS DESTINATION—TERRIBLE STORM NEAR CAPE HATTERAS—THE EXPEDITION REACHES PORT ROYAL—REBEL FORTS ON BAY POINT AND HILTON HEAD—THEIR BOMBARDMENT—THEIR STRENGTH—INCIDENTS OF THE ATTACK—SURRENDER OF THE FORTS—RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—SKETCH OF ITS HERO, COMMODORE DUPONT—NAVAL DISASTER BELOW NEW ORLEANS—CAPTAIN JOHN POPE—EVENTS IN MISSOURI—BOLD ACHIEVEMENT OF COLONEL ZAGONYI NEAR SPRINGFIELD—THE BATTLE OF BELMONT—GENERAL U. S. GRANT—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT AT BELMONT—ITS RESULTS—DISMISSAL OF GENERAL FREMONT FROM HIS DEPARTMENT OF THE WEST—CAUSES OF HIS REMOVAL—HIS ADMIRABLE DEMEANOR ON THIS OCCASION—HIS SUBSEQUENT APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER OF THE MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND TENNESSEE.

WHOEVER examines with attention the operations of the Federal forces during the progress of the war against Secession, will observe that, from the nature of the case, it must become a conflict involving extensive military combinations and far-reaching strategy. The immense area of territory which was to be recovered, the numerous armies which were to be subdued, rendered it absolutely necessary, that various movements should be effected from different points, at nearly the same time; that those movements should, while steadily pursuing their separate paths of victory, gradually converge toward a central position, and that, at that position, a few resistless blows should demolish the concentrated military strength of the Rebel States. This principle will furnish the key to the subsequent aggressive move-



ments of the Federal troops which occurred, and which were made as soon as the necessary preliminary preparations could be effected.

The Rebel States were still convulsed with that frantic and exaggerated exultation which usually elated them at the attainment of the least success, in consequence of their victory at Balls Bluff, when sudden terror and apprehension overtook them. The cause of this revolution of feeling was the departure of a powerful Federal fleet from Annapolis, for some unknown destination in the South. This armament consisted of nearly fifty vessels, including those used for transport, and was placed under the orders of Commodore Samuel F. Dupont. The expedition had been in preparation for several months, and was fitted out under the combined auspices of the Army and Navy Departments at Washington. General Thomas W. Sherman commanded the land forces which were embarked in the transports. The fleet sailed from Annapolis on the 21st of October, 1861, and proceeded to Hampton Roads near Fortress Monroe. The last necessary preparations there having been completed, the vast squadron left its anchorage at early dawn on the 29th of October. A signal gun was fired from the commodore's flag ship, the *Wabash*, which led the way; immediately afterward the fleet formed in line and proceeded seaward through the capes. The stately and numerous array as it sailed toward the broad bosom of the ocean, presented one of the most magnificent spectacles which the imagination can conceive.

This land and naval force was destined to invade the territory of South Carolina; and by a just but singular act of retribution, the very spot on which many of the designs of the conspirators had been originally conceived, or at a later day matured, was destined to become deso-

lated by the presence and the terror of the Federal troops; for Beaufort, in the vicinity of Port Royal, had been the sumptuous summer retreat of some of those men, whose names will forever remain prominently connected with the annals of the Rebellion.

When the advancing fleet reached a position in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras, it was assailed by one of the most furious tempests which ever swept the surface of the deep. Excellent seamanship alone preserved it from destruction. In spite, however, of the utmost efforts of fortitude and skill, two transports were lost during the storm. At length, on the morning of the 7th of November, the fleet, with the flag ship in the advance, reached the mouth of Port Royal Entrance. At that spot two Rebel fortifications frowned over the waves, and menaced the commerce of the loyal States. They were named Forts Walker and Beauregard, after the prominent Rebel chiefs. It was with some difficulty that the larger vessels of the Federal fleet could be brought over the bar, two miles in width; but the skill of Commodore Dupont, and the determination of his troops, ultimately effected that result. Their merit in regard to this achievement was the greater, in consequence of the fact, that all the usual aids to navigation had been removed from that vicinity by the vigilance and industry of the Rebels.

At half-past nine, on the morning of the 7th of November, the Federal ships cleared for action, were brought within range, and the bombardment of the two forts commenced. These were located on Bay Point and Hilton Head. They were strongly garrisoned, containing eighteen hundred men; and were protected by a fleet of seven gunboats under the command of Captain Tatnal. As the Union ships approached the forts, the vessels of that officer, which might be fitly termed a diminutive

fleet, began to fire. But they were soon chased, by a few well-directed shots, beyond the reach of the Federal guns, and were dispersed among the obscure streams leading toward Savannah. The bombardment of the forts was then continued with vigor. It had been agreed between the two Federal commanders, that the naval troops should alone be employed during the bombardment. The land forces therefore remained, though unwillingly, idle spectators of the scene. The ships of war took positions six hundred yards distant from the forts, and frequently engaged the batteries on both sides at the same time.

The Rebel forts had been constructed with skill, and were provided with heavy guns and abundant supplies. Their cannon responded at first to those of the Federal fleet with rapidity, but rarely with precision. They therefore produced little damage to their assailants. It soon became evident that their defense was useless, and the conquest of the works inevitable. The overwhelming hailstorm of shot and shell which was poured upon the forts without intermission, and with superior accuracy of aim, was rapidly rendering them untenable. The large and increasing number of their killed and wounded, was convincing the Rebels that their doom was sealed. Their own guns in the forts were at length so badly served, that they frequently did more damage to their gunners than to their assailants. After a contest of four hours, the Rebels abandoned their works, and commenced a precipitate retreat. They carried their wounded and some of their dead with them. At a quarter before three o'clock, they struck their flag on Fort Walker, and before evacuating it ran up a white one. The Federal fleet, at a signal from Commodore Dupont, then ceased firing, and Captain Rodgers was

sent ashore to ascertain the state of affairs. He found the fort deserted, and precisely at three o'clock, he unfurled the stars and stripes from the summit of the flag-staff. The glorious ensign was then greeted by long and enthusiastic cheers from the thousands of patriotic sailors and soldiers who manned the fleet, which echoed far and wide over the land and the sea. At nearly the same time Fort Beauregard was evacuated by the Rebels, and with the same precipitation which characterized their flight from Fort Walker.

It should be noted that, during this attack, the Federal fleet did not remain stationary. As the Rebel forts were situated two miles and a half apart, on opposite sides of the strait, the ships continually made a *détour* in a line, by which means they came within range of the forts successively. They thus formed a formidable procession, resembling a convoy of destroying angels, who, with inexorable vengeance, approached the Rebel works from time to time, to inflict deserved destruction upon them. Each ship of war, as it passed, remained within range about twenty minutes; and each of them delivered, during that interval, a very large number of shells. The spectacle thus presented was one of the most novel and imposing which could be imagined; while the music of the deadly missiles as they coursed through the heavens, and the far resounding reverberation of the guns, which was heard both at Savannah and at Charleston, added to the intense interest of the scene.

After the evacuation of the forts the process of landing the Federal troops immediately began. Though only a portion of them were then required on shore, the transfer of all of them was completed before nightfall. Fort Walker, at Hilton Head, was found to be a work of great strength and of colossal proportions. It covered an area



of four acres, was angular in form, was surrounded by a deep ditch, and mounted twenty-four guns. Three of these had been disabled during the contest. Twenty-six dead bodies were counted in and near the fort, and it is probable that the killed and wounded of the Rebels numbered several hundreds. At a later period discoveries were made which justified the belief, that their loss had been very heavy. The Federal loss was eight killed and twenty wounded. It should not be inferred, however, from this circumstance, that the guns of the Rebels had been inefficient. They occasionally reached the objects of their aim. Thus the Wabash was struck thirty times. Nearly every vessel which had been engaged, bore some token of the assiduous attentions of the Rebel marksmen. The spoils of the conquest were considerable. A large amount of ammunition was taken, with various stores of necessaries and even of luxuries. It became evident from an inspection of the forts, that the enemy had abandoned them with the utmost trepidation. Innumerable articles of value were strewn around in confusion, and the soldiers were enriched by no insignificant plunder. Swords, pistols, guns, some of which were richly mounted, watches, jewelry, and even money, were found. The entire number of cannon captured was forty-three. Many of these were of very heavy *calibré*. Both forts were soon filled with Federal troops, and thus a permanent position was effectually secured on the soil of South Carolina.

This great victory filled the inhabitants of that chivalrous State with terror. This feeling soon degenerated into a panic among the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity, and especially among those of Charleston and Savannah. Of dwellers in the nearer Beaufort, there were no longer any left, except the jubilant negro popula-

tion. All others had fled in the utmost dismay, and had sought refuge in more distant retreats. General Sherman, after taking possession of the forts, issued a proclamation, in which he endeavored to allay the fears of the people, to explain the real purpose of the expedition, and to reclaim the fugitive rebels back to loyalty to the Federal Government.

Commodore Dupont, to whom the chief glory of this important conquest belonged, was born in New Jersey, and entered the naval service in 1815. During the forty-five years which he spent in that service, he occupied with honor a number of important positions. In 1836 he commanded the *Warren*, and cruised in the West Indies. In 1843 he commanded the brig *Perry*, on the same station, and subsequently the *Congress* and the *Cyane*. In 1859 he was appointed commandant of the Philadelphia navy yard. He had then spent twenty-two years at sea, and nine years in active duty on shore. The high reputation which he had won by energy and ability in various posts of danger and responsibility, amply justified the choice which placed him at the head of this expedition. The successful issue of that expedition filled up the measure of his fame. General Sherman, his associate in command, was born in Rhode Island, and graduated at West Point in 1836. He served with distinction in the Florida war, and afterward proceeded with General Taylor to Mexico. He was breveted major for his brave and meritorious conduct at the battle of Buena Vista, in February, 1847. After the commencement of the Rebellion, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the fifth artillery; and at the battle of Manassas had command of the battery which was designated by his name. The defeat which overtook him on that occasion, in common with many other brave and skillful

officers, did not dim the lustre of his reputation. He was subsequently elevated to the rank of brigadier general, and placed in command of the land forces destined for the conquest of Port Royal.

While these important events were transpiring along the eastern sea-board, other incidents of inferior moment were occurring in the southwest. On the 12th of October, 1861, the Rebel forces below New Orleans gave evidence of their activity by the use of a naval instrument of warfare, or rather by the revival of a means of destruction which had been prevalent among combatants during ages which have long passed away. At half past three o'clock, on the morning of the day just named, while the watch on board the Federal steamer *Richmond* were engaged in taking in coal from a schooner lying alongside, and while partial darkness still prevailed, they were astonished by the sudden approach of a steam battering ram toward the vessels. An alarm was instantly given, but before any means of protection could be employed, she struck the *Richmond* with tremendous violence, and stove a hole through her side. Three planks were torn away, two feet below the water line, making an aperture of considerable dimensions. The ram then passed to the rear of the disabled vessel; but as she did so, the port guns of the *Richmond* were discharged at her. At this moment three large fire rafts of the enemy were seen approaching the Federal ships, accompanied by several Rebel steamers. The Federal commander, Captain John Pope, immediately signalled to the *Vincennes*, the *Preble*, and the *Water Witch* to slip their cables, proceed down the southwest channel of the Mississippi, and pass over the bar. During the passage, and while the enemy were in chase of them, the *Richmond* and the *Vincennes* grounded, and thereby

furnished the Rebels a favorable opportunity for the use of their guns. The Federal ships, however, responded vigorously to their fire. After considerable effort, the grounded vessels were lightened, and conducted over the bar, after which the chase and the action ceased. The commanders of the several Federal vessels did not gain many laurels by their display of skill and heroism on this occasion.

A more brilliant incident soon after occurred near Springfield, Missouri. On the 25th of October, three hundred men, who formed the body guard of General Fremont, under the command of a Hungarian refugee named Zagonyi, attacked a Rebel camp near that place, containing two thousand men. The movement was an extremely bold and sudden one, and its results were most advantageous. The Rebel troops were completely surprised, overpowered, defeated, and compelled to flee, not only in the utmost confusion, but also with considerable losses. It was a daring and praiseworthy achievement; but it was unfortunately the only successful movement of importance which was performed, during the administration of that department by General Fremont, by any of the forces or officers under his command.

Soon after this event, on the 7th of November, three thousand five hundred Federal troops, under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant, proceed against a Rebel force stationed at the village of Belmont, in Missouri, nearly opposite to Columbus. General McClelland accompanied the expedition. The troops embarked at Cairo on a number of steamers, and proceeded as far as Lucas's Bend, three miles above Columbus, on the Missouri side of the river. At that point they landed. The Rebel encampment was placed on elevated ground,



several miles distant from the shore, and from their position they could clearly perceive the movements of the Federal forces. They therefore had ample time to prepare for their defense. As soon as the Union troops had disembarked, a large number of the Rebels, advancing from their camps, approached the river and commenced an attack upon them. A running fight ensued over the entire distance which intervened between the river and the camp. The Federal troops pressed on with success, and each division seemed eager to gain the honor of having first reached the position of the enemy. That achievement was performed by the right division, led by Colonel Buford; and the twenty-seventh Illinois was the first regiment to unfurl the stars and stripes within the Rebel encampment.

That encampment contained about five thousand men, with an ample supply of arms and ammunition. Upon the arrival of the Federal troops at that point, a desperate and bloody combat ensued. The whole camp became the wide scene of tumultuous collisions, of hand to hand combats, of advancing and retreating columns, of the capture and recapture of guns, of the conflagration of tents, baggage, and stores, of slaughter and of death. In the end, the Rebel troops were compelled to give way, and to flee in the utmost confusion, leaving the Federal forces in possession of the field, and of their position.

Scarcely, however, had this important result been attained, when it was discovered that large and fresh masses of Rebels were rapidly approaching the scene of conflict, from the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of cutting off the return of the victors to their transports. These reinforcements came from Columbus, which was at that time strongly garrisoned by the enemy.

Quickly and clearly discerning the position of affairs, General Grant gave the order to fall back to the boats. While executing this movement, the Union troops encountered the advancing Rebels; and as they had been compelled to fight their way to the captured camp, so they were now compelled to fight their way back again. They did it valiantly. They brought away with them several hundred prisoners, two cannon, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. They reached their boats after some very hard fighting, and then returned to Cairo. The conflict had lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon. The loss was considerable on both sides; that of the Federal troops being about three hundred in killed and wounded, that of the enemy was perhaps greater. General Grant had two horses shot under him. A similar accident befell General McClelland. As a whole, the battle was a brilliant achievement on the part of the Federal troops, who executed a daring and difficult enterprise, with great bravery and resolution. The Federal forces employed on this occasion were from Illinois, with the exception of the seventh Iowa regiment.

On the 2d of November, 1861, General Fremont was relieved from the administration of the Department of the West. During some time previous to that date, loud complaints had been made by men eminent in the civil and military service of the country, in regard to the manner in which he had conducted the affairs of his department. It was boldly charged that he was incompetent to fulfill the duties of his responsible position; that he was destitute of military skill; that he had given several hundred military commissions to men utterly unfit for them; that he had permitted contracts to be made, and had ratified and endorsed them, by which the Federal Government had been defrauded of immense

sums of money; that all his operations were carried on at an enormous and superfluous expense; and that, notwithstanding that expense, little was accomplished during many months, except the erection of a few fortifications around St. Louis. For the purpose of ascertaining the truth of these charges Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War, visited St. Louis, accompanied by Adjutant General Thomas. They reached that city on the 11th of October. They proceeded to examine into the state of affairs, and inspect the several camps in Missouri, including those at St. Louis, at Tipton and at Syracuse. At these places General Thomas collected the *data* which he subsequently embodied in a report, which was published and addressed to Mr. Cameron. In that report General Thomas alleged, that the evidence was conclusive, that Fremont might have reinforced General Lyon at Springfield, and might thus have averted one of the heaviest misfortunes of the war; that General Fremont had allowed himself to be surrounded by a number of adventurers and speculators, from various portions of the Union, by whom the Government had been defrauded of large amounts; that he had issued military commissions to incompetent men and to personal favorites, who possessed no military knowledge or experience whatever; that by these and other offences, he had inflicted serious damage on the interests of the nation, and had retarded the operations of the war.

These charges, and the proofs which accompanied them, eventually produced a decisive effect on the mind of President Lincoln; and he felt compelled, though with much reluctance, to order the removal of General Fremont. He was succeeded in his command by General Hunter, a veteran officer who had fought with great gallantry on several occasions. No reasonable and in-

telligent person doubted the integrity and the excellent intentions of General Fremont; and his removal was not intended by the President, nor was it regarded by the nation as a stigma upon his private character, or on his loyalty and patriotism. He at once acquiesced with dignity and grace in the orders of the Executive; and urged his offended and incensed troops, who at one time were disposed to mutiny, not to make the least display of dissatisfaction, but to serve his successor in office as faithfully as they had served himself. It may with truth be asserted, that no part of General Fremont's military administration did him so much honor, or evinced his personal excellence more clearly, than his spirit and manner in resigning it. With that superior wisdom and equity which generally marked the official conduct of President Lincoln during his administration, he readily detected where the real difficulty lay; and at a subsequent period evinced his appreciation of the merits of General Fremont, by appointing him to the command of the Mountain Department of Western Virginia.



## CHAPTER XV.

EUROPEAN RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—EFFORTS MADE TO OBTAIN IT—MISSION OF MESSRS. MASON AND SLIDELL—THEIR ARREST ON BOARD THE TRENT—LEGALITY OF THAT ARREST—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DEMAND THEM—THEY ARE SURRENDERED—REASONS OF THEIR SURRENDER—DIPLOMATIC NOTE OF MR. SEWARD ON THE SUBJECT—ARGUMENT OF MR. SUMNER IN THE SENATE—THE BATTLE OF DRAINSVILLE—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—ITS RESULTS—GENERAL MCCALL—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—DISMISSAL OF MR. CAMERON FROM THE FEDERAL CABINET—THE WAR IN KENTUCKY—THE BATTLE OF MILL-SPRINGS—INCIDENTS OF THE CONFLICT—BAYONET CHARGE OF THE NINTH OHIO REGIMENT—DEFEAT OF THE REBELS—DEATH OF GENERAL FELIX ZOLLICOFFER—HIS CHARACTER—RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF MILL-SPRINGS—SUBSEQUENT FLIGHT AND DISPERSION OF THE REBEL TROOPS.

THE crafty and resolute leaders of the Southern Rebellion labored, from the beginning of their treasonable movements, with great zeal and earnestness, to obtain the approval and recognition of several of the most important European powers. To this end William L. Yancey and his associates had been sent abroad at an early stage of the rebellion. For this purpose Messrs. Mason and Slidell were selected in October, 1861, to follow them to Europe, as the envoys of the Confederate Government, to unite their efforts with those of their predecessors in accomplishing that desirable result. Scarcely had these commissioners sailed from Havana on board the British packet *Trent*, when they were arrested, through the vigilance and energy of an American officer. Captain Wilkes, who was already well known for his ability and usefulness in connection with the United States service,

commanded the *San Jacinto*, then cruising in the West Indies; and having been informed, while stopping at Cienfuegas, that these diplomatic Rebels had escaped from the South, and that they had embarked on board the Trent for England, determined immediately to start in pursuit of them. It was while sailing in the narrowest part of the Bahama channel, that he was so fortunate as to encounter the packet. He immediately bore down upon her, fired a shot across her bows to bring her to, and sent two boats under the command of Lieutenant Fairfax, for the purpose of making the arrest. The Rebels were personally known to the Lieutenant; and he, having boarded the Trent, and having made known to her commander the purpose of his visit, demanded his prisoners. The furious and profane blustering of the British captain, the solemn and mock-heroic protests of the Rebels, the frantic screams of their wives and children, the blows even which were inflicted by fair and delicate hands on the manly physiognomy of the Lieutenant, all availed nothing; and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their two secretaries, descended with many grimaces from the deck of the Trent into the boats, and were forthwith transferred, with their baggage, to the *San Jacinto*.

This novel and startling incident immediately convulsed the inhabitants of the loyal and the disloyal States, with intense though very dissimilar emotions. The former rejoiced that the Rebels had been foiled in their purpose and mission. The latter were at first overwhelmed with indignation and dismay. But when they began to contemplate the possible consequences of the act; to hope that England might resent the fancied insult to her flag; and to imagine that the Federal Government would thereby become involved in an ex-

pensive and ruinous war with that nation; exultation assumed the place of every other feeling in their breasts. The San Jacinto proceeded with her prisoners to Boston, whence they were immediately transferred to Fort Warren, in the harbor of that city. Then followed the universal discussion throughout the land, of the questions of the legality of the arrest, the duty of the Federal Government in the premises, and the probable policy of England in regard to the matter. Different opinions were expressed by eminent and learned men on the subject. But the prevalent sentiment was, that the arrest and capture were perfectly justifiable, so far as the abstract and settled principles of International Law were concerned, and the uniform practice of England herself in similar cases; and that the government of that country could not, if it had any regard for consistency of conduct, take the least offence at the arrest of the Rebels when on board an English neutral vessel.

Though the legality of the *capture* of the Rebel commissioners might be clear, so far as the abstract principles of law were concerned, the prudence and policy of their surrender, in case the British government should demand it, was quite a different question. The people of the United States, therefore, waited with intense anxiety to learn what course England would adopt in the premises. As was generally apprehended by those who understood most correctly the spirit of that government, it immediately demanded the unconditional surrender of Mason and Slidell, as a reparation due for the fancied insult which had been inflicted on the British flag. Their conduct demonstrated, that the British government eagerly seized the opportunity which was thus afforded, to embarrass and annoy the people of the United States, in the darkest and most critical moment which had occurred

in their career since the period of the storms and struggles of the Revolution; and extort from them while thus embarrassed a humiliating and superfluous concession, which, under other circumstances, would have been resolutely refused.

The Rebel commissioners were forthwith surrendered. Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, in a long and elaborate communication which he addressed to Lord Lyons, the British minister then resident at Washington, set forth with great ability, the reasons which induced the Federal Government to pursue that policy. He admitted that the four prisoners were contraband of war; that Captain Wilkes had the right to search the Trent for their persons; that the right of search had been exercised in this case in a lawful manner; that Captain Wilkes had the right to seize the Rebels when thus found; but he contended on the other hand, that this right of seizure had not been exercised in a legal manner. He held that Captain Wilkes ought to have also taken possession of the vessel which conveyed the Rebels; that he ought to have brought her into a Federal port; that he ought to have had her tried, condemned and confiscated by a Federal tribunal; and that in no case should he have permitted her to proceed on her voyage to England. Because he failed in adhering to all these technical formalities, Mr. Seward contended that the whole proceeding became legally vitiated *ab initio*. At a later period Mr. Sumner discussed the subject in the Senate, and vindicated the surrender of the Rebels on no other grounds. He affirmed that the arrest could not be justified by *American* precedents and practice; that the Federal Government had never regarded the dispatches of a hostile nation as contraband; that that government had heretofore considered no persons as contraband



except those actually engaged in the military or the naval service of an enemy ; and that it had always opposed and condemned the alleged power on the part of any single officer, to adjudicate and decide personal rights by the tribunal of the quarter deck. These positions Mr. Sumner defended with immense erudition and with some logical force. Nevertheless, the question still remained undetermined in the tribunal of popular judgment and common sense, whether in such cases it was proper and just to pursue toward England that policy which was indicated by English, or that indicated by American precedents ; and to myriads of intelligent thinkers it seemed clear, that the British Government ought not to pursue a particular line of policy toward the whole world, and claim the right of search and of arrest in such cases, against all other nations, and then demand, when the occasion served their interests, that all other nations should be required, under precisely similar circumstances, to pursue toward them a policy directly opposite to their own. When, therefore, the Rebel commissioners were surrendered to the British authorities, it was done chiefly from motives of expediency, which were concealed and disguised under delicate tissues of elaborate and far-fetched special pleading, which were intended rather to excuse the act, than to demonstrate its validity and correctness in the light of abstract equity, and the established principles of international law.

The Federal army of the Potomac had been stationed in the vicinity of Washington, during several months, assiduously employed in perfecting their discipline, and their familiarity with military evolutions, when, on the 20th of December, General McCall determined to send out a large foraging party, and to make a *reconnoissance* in force with a portion of the troops under his command.

He had ascertained that a considerable number of Rebels had taken a position at Drainsville, and he resolved to attack them. He gave orders to General Ord to march thither with his brigade. General Reynolds was directed also to advance to Difficult Creek with the forces under his command, to support him. The troops which were thus brought into service consisted of the sixth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Pennsylvania Reserves, the first regiment of rifles, and Easton's battery. In the march toward the enemy, the rifles, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Kane, led the advance, with Easton's battery, and a portion of the first Pennsylvania cavalry. At half past one o'clock these troops encountered the Rebels, posted near Drainsville, and the action immediately commenced. A portion of the Rebel forces were concealed in the dense woods, and it was some time before their exact position could be ascertained. The guns of Easton's battery were brought to bear upon them with great effect. They then advanced, for the purpose of turning the left of the Federal troops, but General McCall, who had by this time reached the scene of action with his staff, detected and foiled this movement. He immediately notified Colonel McCalmot, who commanded the left of the Federal forces, of the impending danger; and such a disposition was instantly made as defeated the purpose of the enemy, and compelled them to return to their position.

Meanwhile the engagement was progressing with spirit in the centre and on the right wing of the Union troops. The ninth infantry, under Colonel Jackson, had encountered the Rebels and overpowered them. In the centre, the sixth regiment, under Colonel Ricketts, together with the Bucktail rifles, under Lieutenant Colonel Kane, received and repulsed the charge of the

foe with much gallantry. As the enemy retreated, the Federal troops advanced, until the rout became precipitate and complete. As the victors proceeded through the woods, they met numerous evidences of the heavy losses which the enemy had suffered; for the ground was strewn with the dying and the dead, with mangled horses, shattered gun carriages, caissons, arms, ammunition and clothing. The defeat of the Rebels was complete, and their flight ignominious. General McCall ordered the pursuit to be continued for a mile beyond the scene of conflict by two regiments; but so rapid was the pace of the fugitives that it was impossible to overtake them. A hundred dead Rebels were afterward counted on the field; their wounded, who were doubtless more numerous, they carried away with them. They had probably four thousand men in the action, and were therefore more numerous than their assailants. The loss on the Federal side was seven killed and sixty wounded. After this engagement, General McCall proceeded to collect forage. He obtained sixteen wagon loads of hay and twenty-two of corn, with which he returned to his camp. The brigade of General Reynolds did not reach the battle field until the contest was over, though they made the latter part of the march with the utmost possible celerity.

The engagement of Drainsville was one of the most spirited and successful which had occurred during the progress of the war. General McCall, the chief hero of the day, was a veteran officer, a native of Philadelphia. He entered the United States army in 1818. After several promotions, he served with distinction under General Worth in Florida. He acquired fresh laurels at the battle of Resaca de la Palma, and in July, 1846, was appointed adjutant to General Zachary Taylor, with the rank of major. In 1850 he became inspector general, with the

rank of colonel. He afterward retired from the service, and resided near West Chester, Pennsylvania, until the commencement of the rebellion. He was then appointed major general of the fifteen regiments which were authorized to be raised by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Immediately after the battle of Manassas, the services of these troops, with those of their commanding officer, were tendered to the Federal Government, and accepted. The victory of Drainsville was a worthy continuation of General McCall's previous achievements. He subsequently accompanied the army of General McClellan in the Peninsula, and took a prominent and distinguished part in several of the great battles which were fought in the vicinity of Richmond. At length, in the fearful conflict on the 30th of June, he was taken prisoner, and removed to the Rebel capital; but after a short captivity he was released.

On the 13th of January, 1862, an important change took place in the Federal Cabinet, the announcement of which surprised, and perhaps gratified, the nation. On that day Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War, was notified by Mr. Lincoln that he was relieved from the duties of his office, and that he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to Russia, in the room of Cassius M. Clay. Edwin M. Stanton, a distinguished lawyer, originally from Ohio, but at that time a resident of Washington, was selected as the successor of the retiring Secretary.

On the 19th of January the Federal forces under General G. H. Thomas, and the Rebel troops under General Felix Zollicoffer, who had been gradually approaching each other in Kentucky, met; a desperate battle was fought between them near the village of Mill Springs; and the inhabitants of the loyal States were



cheered by the announcement of a splendid and decisive victory to the Federal arms. Previous to this date General Zollicoffer had entrenched himself in a fortified position about fifteen miles southwest from Somerset, and twelve miles from the Cumberland river. This position commanded the whole of the surrounding country, and held the citizens of Pulaski, Wayne, and Russel counties in subjection to the Rebel power. General Thomas had formed the resolution to attack these entrenchments in conjunction with the troops under General Schoepff, who was then posted at Somerset. Accordingly, he commenced his march from Jamestown toward the position of the enemy. On the 17th, General Zollicoffer having been informed by some treasonable means, of the contemplated enterprise of the two Federal commanders, determined to defeat it by marching forth from his works, attacking General Thomas first, and having routed him, to assail General Schoepff, thus vanquishing his opponents in detail.

The hostile forces first came in contact at seven o'clock on the morning of the 19th, when the pickets of Colonel Manson's troops, who had been posted in the advance, were driven in. It was soon evident that the Rebel army was approaching in full force. The distant firing aroused the Federal camp, and a portion of the tenth Indiana regiment was ordered forward to the support of the pickets. The whole of that regiment soon afterward advanced against the enemy, who were gradually forming into line, regiment by regiment, and taking their positions on the scene of conflict. After the firing had continued for half an hour, an attempt was made by a body of Rebel cavalry, to outflank the Federal troops which had thus far been engaged. The movement was partially successful; and the right wing, consisting of the tenth

Indiana, under Colonel Kise, was compelled to fall back to avoid being surrounded. The order to retire was judiciously given; for at that period of the battle the Rebel forces continually rolled forward like an inexhaustible flood; they advanced with loud and frantic yells, intended to intimidate their foes; and the superiority of their numbers at that juncture, might have given them an advantage which would have seriously affected the issue of the day. While thus retiring in good order, the fugitives were met and supported by the fourth Kentucky, the ninth Ohio, and the second Minnesota regiments. The combat was then renewed with desperate energy on both sides. The enemy had been strengthened by large accessions on their extreme left; and a portion of the tenth Indiana was ordered to that point, to assist the troops there engaged.

The nature of the ground rendered the operations of the troops exceedingly difficult, being covered, for the most part, by tangled brushwood, fallen logs, or growing corn. It was also difficult to place the artillery in favorable positions, for the same reasons. Nevertheless, as the battle progressed, the batteries of Whitmore, Standard, and Kinney performed efficient service. The guns of the Rebels, however, did less damage than these, as they were aimed too high. The vicissitudes of the conflict reached over a mile in extent, and were various and vacillating, as hour after hour wore away. Within the limits of the battle-field, several positions were of superior importance; and around these positions the most desperate combats occurred. A log-house and stable were of this class, and both parties contended, in a long and bloody struggle, for the possession of them. At last the ninth Ohio remained masters of the position. This position, though valuable, still left the issue of the

contest uncertain; for the determination of the Rebels remained as unyielding and intense as before.

It was now eleven o'clock, and no serious advantage had yet been gained by either army. The centre and left of the Federal forces had repeatedly advanced, fired, and fallen back; and the same evolutions had as often been performed by the Rebels. General Thomas determined at length to attempt a decisive movement. At that time the fourteenth Ohio and tenth Kentucky regiments were approaching the battle-field, along the Columbus road; and a fresh accession of strength was thus afforded. General Thomas ordered Colonel Caster to flank the enemy's right wing with his regiment, which till then had not joined in the action. In concert with this movement Colonel McCook ordered the ninth Ohio to charge the position of the enemy with fixed bayonets, and turn their left flank. This regiment was composed chiefly of Germans; and no sooner was this order given, than, having first discharged their guns, they rushed forward to the attack on the Rebel lines with vociferous cheering. The latter at first prepared to receive them. They maintained their position until the formidable wall of bristling bayonets approached within thirty yards of their front. A Tennessee regiment on the extreme left fired a feeble and rambling volley into the advancing Federals; they then broke and fled. A Mississippi regiment delivered a similar volley, and immediately made a similar retreat. The panic and the rout spread rapidly, until it extended over the entire line of the enemy. The gallant charge of the ninth Ohio had decided the fortunes of the day. The whole Rebel army at length retreated toward their entrenchments in the utmost disorder, and with heavy losses of guns and ammunition. The pathway of their flight was covered with innumerable

trophies of their disaster, and with multitudes of the wounded, the dying, and the dead.

But the most serious calamity of this memorable day to the Rebel cause, was the death of General Felix Zollicoffer. It was near the conclusion of the conflict when this event occurred. Zollicoffer, attended by his staff, was riding over the field, directing the movements of his troops, when, being somewhat in advance of his line, the group was observed by Colonel S. S. Fry of the fourth Kentucky regiment. That officer rode toward them and fired. His shot was immediately returned by one of Zollicoffer's aids, who unhorsed him. He then aimed again, and with fatal accuracy sent his bullet through the heart of the Rebel commander. Zollicoffer fell to the earth, his attendants fled in dismay, and his inanimate remains were left to add to the trophies and glories of the victory. They were afterward found in a wagon, together with the body of Lieutenant Bailie Peyton, on the route of the retreat. The death of General Zollicoffer was no ordinary blow to the Rebel cause. He was a man of great energy and ability. He had risen to eminence through a long gradation of honorable offices, such as the editorship of several leading journals in Tennessee; as State printer, as State Comptroller, as member of the State Senate, and as Representative in the Federal Congress. When the Rebellion commenced, he did not regard its purposes and principles with favor. But when he found the majority of the population of the Southern States enthusiastically in favor of the movement, and saw that the tide was becoming resistless, he joined with those around him, and was promoted to a high command in the Rebel army. He was a disappointed statesman; an habitual sadness pervaded his spirit; and



on the bloody field of Mill Springs, the last of his hopes was crushed by the hand of death.

The fugitive Rebels were pursued on the day of the battle till within a mile of the fortifications which General Zollicoffer had lately occupied. The Federal cannon were then brought to bear upon the works, and the process of shelling commenced. This was continued during an hour. Only a single gun responded. Then night fell, and the wearied victors reposed on their arms, expecting to renew the assault in the morning. At break of day on the morning of the 20th, several regiments were thrown forward toward the entrenchments. Soon the scouts reported that the works were untenanted. The enemy had in fact evacuated them during the night; had fled across the river; and had thus rendered the triumph of the Federal troops complete. Not only their military strength, but their moral force, had been utterly dissipated by one of the most complete disasters which had yet overtaken the cause of the Rebellion.

The number of troops engaged in this conflict was about ten thousand on the side of the Rebels, and seven thousand on that of the Federals. The victors captured eight six pounders, and two Parrot guns, one hundred wagons, twelve hundred horses and mules, a thousand muskets, and a large amount of provisions. The loss of the enemy was a hundred and fourteen killed, and probably three hundred wounded. The Federal loss was forty killed, a hundred and twenty-seven wounded. The consequences of this triumph were important. Beside inspiring the whole nation with patriotic exultation, it opened the passes to the Cumberland mountains, which led to the valley of the Tennessee river, thereby giving access to the territory of North Carolina from the west. It thus assisted in completing that chain of military

bands with which the Federal Government was gradually girding the limits of the Rebel confederacy, with the intent that, at the proper and critical moment, it might, by one powerful and resistless constriction, crush out of it the last remains of vitality.

## CHAPTER XVI.

THE BURNSIDE EXPEDITION—ITS STRENGTH AND SECRET DESTINATION—ITS DEPARTURE FROM ANNAPOLIS—IT REACHES FORTRESS MONROE—ANOTHER GALE OFF CAPE HATTERAS—ITS RESULTS—LOSS OF THE STEAMER CITY OF NEW YORK—HEROISM OF GENERAL BURNSIDE—THE EXPEDITION ENTERS PAMLICO SOUND—IT STEERS FOR ROANOKE ISLAND—REBEL WORKS ERECTED ON THAT ISLAND—THE FEDERAL TROOPS DISEMBARK—PLAN OF THE ATTACK—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—THE FINAL CHARGE—DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS—CAPTURE OF THEIR FORTS—THEIR STRENGTH—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY—DEATH OF COLONEL DE MONTUEIL—SKETCH OF GENERAL BURNSIDE—ATTACK ON FORT HENRY—STRENGTH OF THE FORT—NUMBER OF THE FEDERAL GUNBOATS—INCIDENTS OF THE BOMBARDMENT—SURRENDER OF THE REBEL WORKS—TROPHIES OF THE VICTORY—LOSS ON BOTH SIDES—SKILL AND HEROISM OF COMMODORE FOOTE—SKETCH OF HIS CAREER—FURTHER OPERATIONS OF THE BURNSIDE EXPEDITION.

THE signal success that had attended the several expeditions which sailed to Hatteras and Port Royal, encouraged the Federal Government to continue that effective method of operation. Accordingly, General Burnside was appointed to the command of another armament consisting of both land and naval forces, whose destination was as yet unknown, but which he was ordered to organize and complete with the utmost dispatch. That able and energetic officer at once addressed himself to the task assigned him. Under his direction a large number of vessels and transports were purchased; provisions, arms, and ammunition were procured; troops were collected; and by the 9th of January, 1862, the largest and most formidable expedition which ever proceeded from an American port, was ready to sail from

Annapolis. The total number of vessels of all kinds, excepting those belonging to the regular navy, was forty-five. The troops on board amounted to sixteen thousand men, and were commanded, under General Burnside, by three brigadier generals, Foster, Reno and Parke. Each of these officers belonged to the regular army, and were soldiers by profession. The number of guns of heavy calibre carried by the fleet was forty-five, possessing a range of two miles and a half, together with five floating batteries. A large number of the transports had been provided through the necessary agency of contractors; and the government was grossly defrauded, and serious perils were subsequently entailed upon the expedition, through the knavery of those who obtained the contracts for furnishing the expedition.

The embarkation of the troops commenced at Annapolis on the 5th of January. The first brigade commanded by General Foster, first went on board; then followed the second, commanded by General Reno; then the third, under the orders of General Parke. The entire process was completed by the 8th, and on the morning of the 9th the signal gun from the *Picket* boomed over the tranquil waste of waters, announcing the moment of departure. Soon every anchor was hauled up, the sails were spread on every craft, the hoarse voices of the many steamers were heard, shouts of joy and martial melodies resounded from ship to shore, and the vast armament began to move with steady and graceful majesty over the blue bosom of the Chesapeake.

The first destination of the fleet was Fortress Monroe. They arrived at that point on the 10th, and proceeded at once to anchor abreast of the fortress. On the 11th, during the night, the voyage was resumed, and the fleet sailed from Hampton Roads, while the ocean and the



land still reposed beneath the beams of a bright moonlight. A propitious breeze gently wafted the adventurers forward on their way, and cape after cape along the main was quickly passed. When Sunday morning dawned, the swiftest steamers were already in view of Hatteras light, and before the evening of that day, a number of them had passed over the bar of Hatteras inlet. Thus far all had progressed in the most favorable and fortunate manner. But during Sunday night the scene suddenly changed. A gale of terrific violence began to blow from the northwest, exceeding any thing ordinarily witnessed on that stormy coast, and soon the bosom of the deep was lashed into fury. The watery waste presented the aspect of an endless series of convulsed and revolving mountains. During two whole days and nights it was impossible for any communication to be had from one vessel to another. They were often lost from each other's sight, either buried in the troughs of the angry sea, or separated by the colossal waves. Gradually the spectacle became one of appalling interest, for the tempest still increased in violence, and soon many of the vessels and transports, from the peculiar character of their freight, became almost unmanageable. The violence of the winds drove some of the ships and transports out to sea, and some it grounded in the swash channel. Over all of them the enormous waves dashed from prow to stern, deluging their upper decks. They reeled and staggered like drunken men. Many lost their guards, and some of the steamers lost their wheelhouses. The menacing wall of breakers which girded Pamlico Sound, seemed impassable to those vessels which had not cleared the bar before the storm began; and their only safety appeared to be in keeping as far out from land as possible. During the continuance of this terrible tempest, accompanied with

deluges of rain, the officers and men exhibited the utmost heroism, and General Burnside sailed to and fro amid the tossing and rolling seas in his staff boat, the Picket, endeavoring to assist and counsel each of his officers in command.

But, in spite of admirable seamanship and dauntless resolution, the usual effects of the destructive violence of the waves commenced to appear; for rarely had old ocean been the arena of a spectacle similar to that then exhibited in the vicinity of Hatteras. The large steamer City of New York was driven on the bar lying at the entrance of the Harbor. She was three hundred and fifty feet long, twenty-five hundred tons burden, and was heavily laden with stores and ammunition. It was found impossible to render her any assistance, and she eventually became a total wreck. A portion of her crew was saved. When the surf boat reached the sinking steamer, her officers and men were clinging with desperation to her sides, the sea making clear breaches over her entire deck. The gunboat Zouave, which had on board three companies of the twenty-fifth Massachusetts regiment, sank at her anchorage, though all those on board were fortunately rescued before she went down. The Louisiana, an enormous steamer, three hundred feet in length, having an entire regiment on board, was driven on a sand bar, and was seriously disabled. Her passengers and crew were also rescued. A collision took place between the steamer Cossack and the brig Hope, by which both were badly damaged. Colonel Allen, of the New Jersey regiment, his surgeon Weller, and second officer, Taylor, were lost by the swamping of a life boat, in which they were endeavoring, with generous daring, to render assistance to those imperilled by the ruthless tempest.

Such were some of the scenes connected with this

memorable occasion. After the fury of the storm abated, the vessels which had drifted out to sea gradually returned, and passed successively over the bar, by means of steam tugs and other appropriate helps, into the tranquil waters within. Nothing but the superior skill and dauntless resolution of the officers who commanded this expedition could have saved it from entire destruction. Most commendable among these was General Burnside himself. While the winds blew, and the rains descended, and the billows rolled with the greatest violence, he was constantly sailing in his staff boat to and fro amid the watery world of tumult and danger, regardless of his own peril, solicitous only for the safety of his men and his ships. It was a thrilling spectacle to witness his movements. At one moment his small steamer would be seen riding on the summit of a monstrous wave, then he would become enveloped in the deluge of spray which swept over the entire vessel, and then again he would become wholly invisible, swallowed in the yawning gullies of the deep. Undaunted, he would soon appear, to go through the same process, with the same result.

At length the storm wholly ceased. After five days of incessant labor, on the 22d the entire fleet entered Pamlico Sound. The naval portion of the expedition had been placed under the command of Commodore Goldsborough. He and his officers had contributed greatly by their skill and valor, to the preservation of the fleet during the recent storm. Their assistance and coöperation in the events which ensued were of equal importance and value to the Federal cause.

Some days elapsed, after the termination of the storm, before General Burnside and his troops were ready to resume operations. On the 4th of February the steamer Patuxent was dispatched to every vessel in the fleet, with

orders to be in readiness to sail on the ensuing morning. At four o'clock on the 5th a busy scene was presented by the vast assemblage of vessels, and all were soon in proper trim to advance. Each steamer towed two or three sailing vessels, filled with troops and stores, and the signal to weigh anchor having been given, seventy-five vessels of every imaginable size and construction began to move. Till that moment the destination of the fleet had remained a secret to all save the commanding officers. The order to steer across Pamlico Sound toward the shore of North Carolina, at last assured the men that Roanoke Island was the intended point of attack. Forts Hatteras and Clark gradually disappeared in the distance of the southern horizon; and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the vast armament approached the point on the Island which the Rebels had fortified. Their works consisted of four batteries, which commanded the main channel through the Croatan Sound. As soon as the Federal fleet came within range of their guns, they opened a fire upon them. To this fire the gunboats, whose lighter draught enabled them to approach nearer the batteries, responded. After several hours the barracks of the rebels were set on fire, which greatly crippled their operations, and their fire gradually ceased.

This contest was merely a preliminary one. At five o'clock orders were given to disembark the troops. This process occupied the entire night, and when the next morning dawned the Federal flag once more floated over the soil of a Rebel State, surrounded by a powerful and valiant force. In addition to the four forts already mentioned, a Rebel army was encamped several miles to the left of the works. A swamp intervened between the two, which was crossed by a narrow road constructed of the trunks of trees which had been sunk in the quagmire.



Up this road General Foster advanced with the twenty-third, twenty-fifth, and twenty-seventh Massachusetts, the tenth Connecticut, and the fifth Rhode Island regiments. At the same time General Reno proceeded with his brigade to attack one of the forts. It was a difficult and dangerous service, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the surrounding country. It was an almost impassable swamp, sometimes covered with brushwood, sometimes lying under water. The first day terminated before any thing could be accomplished. The night which followed was stormy, and the troops remained under arms, deluged with rain, without shelter or proper food. When morning dawned the contest was resumed. The sharpshooters of the enemy, stationed and concealed in the woods to the rear and the right of the fort, did much execution. Their batteries were also worked with effect, and a continuous discharge of small arms from their troops stationed in the vicinity of the fort, was very destructive. The Federal soldiers were often compelled to load their guns while lying in the mud and water.

At length the order was given to charge the enemy at the point of the bayonet. During the execution of this order the Rebels increased their fire with deadly effect. As a portion of the Federal troops were compelled to march to the attack through a swamp nearly waist-deep, their efforts were made under immense disadvantages. Nevertheless, they poured a heavy fire upon the enemy while advancing; and as they approached the Rebel works the enemy fled, leaving their guns unspiked, and throwing away in their haste their arms, knapsacks, and whatever else could impede their retreat. The Federal troops at last struggled through the swamp, waded through the moat, climbed over the parapets, and entered the deserted fortification with loud and enthusiastic

cheers. The flags of the twenty-first Massachusetts and the fifty-first New York were unfurled at the same moment over the late stronghold of the vanquished Rebels.

The pursuit of the fugitives was immediately commenced by the troops of the second brigade, commanded by General Reno. They had fled toward their encampment in the interior of the island. Their pathway was covered with evidences of their terror, and of the precipitation of their flight. Many of their wounded were left to the mercy of the victors, and some who fell exhausted and unable to continue their flight became prisoners. Thirty or forty persons put off from the shore in a small sloop, to escape across Roanoke Sound toward the mainland. Among them was O. Jennings Wise, who had been mortally wounded. General Reno ordered five companies to scour the beach, and to fire upon the Rebel boat if she refused to return. The latter obeyed the summons, came ashore, and surrendered to Major Clark. Meanwhile the Federal forces were advancing toward the Rebel camp named "Georgia," under the command of Generals Foster and Reno. As the advanced guard, consisting of a company of the twenty-first Massachusetts, were marching through the forest, a number of Rebels who were in ambush fired upon them. These were soon routed, three being killed and five wounded. A short time afterward a detachment of Rebels was observed approaching, bearing a flag of truce. Having come within hailing distance of the Federal lines Lieutenant Poor, who commanded the flag, desired to see the chief Federal officer. He was conducted to General Foster. He inquired what terms of capitulation would be granted. The answer was, that no other terms than an immediate and unconditional surrender were admissible.

Lieutenant Poor at once acceded to them, and led the way to the Rebel encampment. Having arrived the capitulation was completed, and all the guns, works, ammunition and stores of the Rebels on Roanoke Island became the trophies of the victors. Two thousand Rebel troops were also taken prisoners of war. They were composed chiefly of residents of North Carolina. Among them was Colonel Shaw, the commandant of the Island. The Federal loss during the entire contest was twenty killed and ninety-six wounded. The loss of the Rebels was probably greater, though it was not accurately ascertained.

The several forts which had been erected on Roanoke Island by the Rebels for the purpose of commanding Roanoke and Croatan Sounds, were of considerable strength. Fort Bartow mounted one rifled thirty-two pounder, six smooth bore thirty-two pounders, and one rifled brass six pounder. Fort Blanchard, situated two miles from Fort Bartow, contained four long thirty-two pounders. Farther up the island, and near its extremity, was Fort Huger, which contained nine long thirty-two pounders and one rifled gun. In an opposite portion of the island was Fort Forneat, which contained two thirty-two pounders. Though insignificant in size it commanded the route from Croatan Sound to Nags Head. A battery at Robb's Fishery on the mainland opposite, which was composed of old barges, and held three guns, was destroyed as worthless by the Federal troops, after the capitulation. When deserting their several forts the Rebels attempted to spike their cannon with tenpenny nails. All of these were afterward extracted, and the purpose of the Rebels defeated.

The complete and glorious victory which graced the Federal arms in the capture of Roanoke Island, fell like

a thunderbolt on the Rebel leaders. Its value to the cause of the Union was immense; and its relation to operations which were afterward to be undertaken was important. During its progress several personal incidents occurred which invested it with a deep and permanent interest. Among these was the heroic death of Lieutenant Colonel De Montueil, of the D'Epineuil Zouaves. When the New York ninth made the gallant charge, which was the chief cause of the desertion of Fort Bartow by the Rebels, he rushed forward in the advance. In one of the last volleys of musketry which they discharged from their works, in the dawning hour of exultant victory, he fell, pierced through the head by a bullet. His death was a serious loss; for he was an officer of unusual merit. But within the gloomy walls of Fort Bartow, amid all the wreck and confusion produced by the conflict, there was another death-scene of still more melancholy interest. O. Jennings Wise, the son of Henry A. Wise, after having been brought back wounded to the fort, was placed under the care of a surgeon; but it soon became evident that he was beyond the aid of the physician's art. Until he became speechless he retained the hope that he would recover; and inquired with great solicitude from the surgeon whether, after his recovery, he would be permitted to return to Richmond on his parole of honor? His early death was a sad but well-deserved penalty for the prostitution of his talents and his influence to the cause of treason. Previous to the commencement of the attack, a Rebel fleet commanded by Commodore Lynch had been stationed at Roanoke Island. It consisted of nine small vessels which mounted seventeen guns. All these vessels, with the exception of two, were subsequently taken or destroyed by the Federal forces. By this event



the enemy were thenceforth deprived of all means of communication along Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds.

Thus far the purposes of this expedition had been successfully attained, and reflected honor on all concerned, but especially upon its master-spirit General Burnside. This gallant officer was born in Indiana in 1824. He entered West Point Academy at the early age of eighteen, and graduated in 1847. He was breveted second lieutenant, and joining the army then in Mexico, marched under Patterson to the gates of the capital. After the conclusion of the war he was stationed at Fort Adams, in Newport Harbor. In 1849 he was attached to Captain Bragg's battery, and performed frontier service during several years in New Mexico. He afterward received the post of Quartermaster to the commission which surveyed the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. He was then already distinguished for his energy and daring. In 1851 he crossed the plains from the Gila river, through the Indian territory, traveling twelve hundred miles in seventeen days, with an escort of only three men, and brought dispatches from Colonel Graham to the President. He was again stationed at Fort Adams; but subsequently, wearied with a life of inaction, he obtained the post of cashier of the Land Department of the Illinois Central Railroad, of which General McClellan was then superintendent. Two years later he became the treasurer of the company, and removed to the city of New York. Immediately after the outbreak of the Rebellion, he was invited by Governor Sprague of Rhode Island to take command of the first regiment of that State. He immediately accepted the offer, and in half an hour commenced his journey to Providence. He distinguished himself by his coolness and bravery in the engagement at Stone

Bridge, and afterward at the more memorable and disastrous conflict of Bull Run. His superior merits as an officer and a man strongly commended him as a suitable person to command the Federal expedition against Roanoke Island. The event demonstrated the wisdom of the appointment.

From this scene of triumph on the sea coast, we turn to another of equal interest, though of less imposing proportions, in the opposite extremity of the Union.

On the 5th of February General Grant ordered Flag Officer Foote to take command of seven gunboats and proceed to the attack of Fort Henry, an important Rebel fortification, situated on the eastern bank of the Tennessee river near the Kentucky line, about fifty-five miles from Paducah. A reconnoissance of the works had previously been made by General C. F. Smith, on the 21st of January, by which he ascertained that the Federal gunboats could assume a position in the river from which they could assault the fort with advantage. The fortification contained two sixty-four pounders, one thirty-two pounder, two twenty-four pounders, three six pounders, and two twelve pound howitzers. The garrison numbered about sixty men. The capture of the fort was important, inasmuch as it would enable the Federal boats to ascend the Tennessee river to the point where the Memphis and Ohio railroad crossed, and would give the Union troops possession of that valuable means of communication.

The gunboats appropriated to the service of reducing the fort were the Cincinnati, the St. Louis, the Carondelet, the Essex, the Conestoga, the Taylor, and the Lexington. These boats had been built expressly for such enterprises, and were constructed on so broad a model that they possessed, while in the water, almost the firmness of a land battery. The Cincinnati carried thirteen guns, and

was commanded by Lieutenant R. N. Stembel. The St. Louis carried thirteen guns, and was commanded by Lieutenant Paulding. The force of the Carondelet was the same, commanded by Henry Walke. The Essex had nine guns, and was under the orders of Commander H. D. Porter. The Conestoga, the Taylor, and the Lexington were of similar strength, and were commanded by Lieutenants Phelps, Gwin, and Shirk, respectively. These vessels having approached on the 6th of February within seventeen hundred yards of Fort Henry, commenced the assault at half past twelve o'clock. The action was spirited on both sides, and continued during nearly two hours. The firing of the Rebels was made with precision. A shot passed through the boiler of the Essex, which disabled her, and killed several men by the escaping steam after which she was compelled to drop down the river. The Cincinnati received thirty-one shots, and had one man killed and eight wounded. During the engagement this boat proudly kept her position in the advance, until at last she reached a point within three hundred yards of the fort. A number of the Rebel guns had now been dismounted, and one of them burst. The enemy lost five killed and ten wounded. At forty minutes past one o'clock the Rebel flag was struck, and the fort surrendered. The commanding officer, General Lloyd Tilghman, together with fifty-four men, became prisoners of war. The trophies of the victory consisted of the ammunition and artillery of the enemy, together with a large amount of stores and tents, sufficient to accommodate fifteen thousand men. Previous to the engagement, a body of several thousand Rebel troops had been encamped in the vicinity of the fort. These retreated toward Paris as soon as they discovered that the surrender of the works was inevitable; and by

this precipitate flight they succeeded in getting beyond the grasp of the victors. General Grant reached the scene of conflict nearly an hour after the surrender, and immediately took possession of the fort. The land forces under his command had therefore no opportunity of participating in the contest. It had been a part of the plan of the assault, that the forces under General Grant should attack those of the Rebels near the fort, in the rear; but the condition of the roads and of the river prevented that officer, as we have stated, from reaching the scene of conflict until after the termination of the engagement. The loss on the Federal side was thirty-nine killed and wounded. Immediately after the capitulation, the bridge of the Memphis and Ohio railroad, fifteen miles above the fort, was taken possession of by a detachment of Federal troops. The gunboats which performed such efficient service on this occasion were partly iron-clad, and generally resisted with success the shot of the enemy. The ball which penetrated the boiler of the *Essex*, by which the greatest injury was effected, entered the forward part, passing through the heavy bulkhead. Immediately after the conclusion of the battle General Grant ordered a large portion of his command to take their position on the road leading from Fort Henry toward Fort Donelson, which important fortification was designated as the next object of attack.

Captain Andrew H. Foote, the chief hero of the capture of Fort Henry, was born in Connecticut, and was a son of Senator Foote from that State, against whom Daniel Webster delivered one of his most famous and elaborate orations. He entered the United States service in 1822, and gradually rose in his profession until 1852, when he attained the rank of commodore. He spent twenty years in service at sea, and the remainder of his



professional life in duty on shore. When the rebellion broke forth, he was in command of the navy yard at Brooklyn. He was then promoted to a captaincy, and transferred to the Department of the West, where he was placed in command of the flotilla on the Mississippi. In the course of his diversified services he had visited Japan, and the coasts of Africa; respecting which he wrote and published a number of essays which indicated superior literary ability. He deservedly ranked among the most eminent, brave, and worthy naval officers whom the annals of our country, either in war or in peace, have yet produced.

The Burnside expedition, after having reduced the Rebel batteries on Roanoke Island, and taken possession of it, entered the waters of Albemarle Sound, and steering in a northern direction, sailed up the Pasquotank river. The next apparent object of attack at this period seemed to be Elizabeth City, the capital of Pasquotank county, and one of the most important towns in the northeastern portion of North Carolina. But with admirable prudence the commander confined the secret of his purposes to his own bosom, thereby leaving the enemy in a perplexing uncertainty in regard to his future movements.

## CHAPTER XVII.

POSITION AND STRENGTH OF FORT DONELSON—GENERAL GRANT AND COMMODORE FOOTE PREPARE TO ATTACK IT—COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR OPERATIONS—REPULSE OF THE GUNBOATS—THE ASSAULT FROM THE LAND SIDE—INCIDENTS OF THE BOMBARDMENT—PROPOSITION OF GENERAL BUCKNER TO SURRENDER—THE FLIGHT OF GENERALS FLOYD AND PILLOW—THE CAPITULATION OF THE FORT—RESULTS AND TROPHIES OF THE CONQUEST—SKETCH OF ULYSSES S. GRANT—SKETCH OF GENERAL CHARLES FERGUSON SMITH—GENERAL LANDER'S ATTACK ON THE REBELS AT BLOOMERY GAP—ITS RESULTS—SKETCH OF GENERAL LANDER—RE-ELECTION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY—HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS—OCCUPATION OF COLUMBUS, KENTUCKY, BY FEDERAL TROOPS—DESERTION OF NASHVILLE BY THE REBEL FORCES—UNEXPECTED ATTACK AND SUCCESS OF THE REBEL BATTERING RAM MERRIMAC—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—OPPORTUNE ARRIVAL OF THE MONITOR IN HAMPTON ROADS—BATTLE BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.

THE capture of Fort Henry was merely a preliminary movement to the attack on Fort Donelson. The latter was a Rebel fortification of great importance, situated on the Cumberland river, and was one of the keys to the possession and control of Tennessee. The works were twelve miles distant from Fort Henry, and were much larger and stronger than the other, presenting a front of nearly four miles. The outer batteries were located on ridges several hundred feet high, which were covered with a dense undergrowth of timber. The Rebels had placed heavy logs on the top of their breastworks, leaving a narrow space between, through which they could discharge their pieces with greater security. Upon several of the eminences near the main fort smaller batteries had

been erected, one of which mounted five guns. An army of thirty thousand men occupied and defended the works. A portion of these troops were recent reinforcements from Bowling Green, which the enemy had deserted. The contemplated attack on Fort Donelson was to be made both by land and by naval forces. General Grant commanded the former, Captain Foote the latter. Their united army numbered fifty thousand men.

The operations of the siege were commenced at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 13th of February, 1862, by Captain Foote. With four iron-clad and two wooden gunboats, he approached within four hundred yards of the works, on the Cumberland river, and commenced a vigorous assault. The Rebels responded with energy and skill. After fighting an hour and a quarter, two of the vessels were disabled, and became so unmanageable, the one by the loss of her wheel, the other by the loss of her tiller, that they drifted down the stream, and beyond the range of their guns. The remaining boats were also severely injured, one of them having received fifty-nine shots. One of the rifled cannon on board the Carondelet burst, killing six men. At length, perceiving the uselessness of continuing the unequal struggle, Captain Foote withdrew his flotilla, and the action for that day terminated. His loss was nine killed and forty-five wounded. He had, however, succeeded in silencing nine guns in the lower tier of the enemy's works. On the 14th, the attack from the land side began. The forces of General Grant were drawn up in line of battle, on a range of hills outside of those occupied by the exterior batteries of the rebels; by which means the latter were completely encircled, from the Cumberland south of the fort, to the waters of a stream which flowed on the north side of it. The attack was commenced by a discharge

of artillery by Captain Tyler, who threw his shells with admirable precision into the works of the enemy, at a point where they seemed to be thickly crowded together. During the 14th, the left wing of the Federal forces was chiefly engaged, and before night the upper fort on the enemy's right, which was the object of their attack, was taken and occupied by the assailants. During this day the Rebels succeeded in capturing Schwartz's battery, but before the action was suspended by the approach of darkness it was retaken. The enemy had accomplished that achievement by making a desperate sortie, in which they drove the Federals half a mile, and then returned to their works with their trophy. Afterward, when the Federals rallied, they not only redeemed the lost advantage, but also gained possession of a portion of the enemy's works.

On the following day the engagement was renewed with the utmost fury. General Charles F. Smith led the attack on the lower end of the entrenchments, and was the first to gain a footing within them. General McClernand's division, composed of the brigades of Wallace, McArthur, and Ogleby, fought with great heroism, and suffered heavily. They chiefly comprised the troops from Illinois. The enemy succeeded at one time in turning the right wing of the Federal army; but after half an hour, the lost ground was regained. During the whole of Saturday, the 15th, the battle raged with varied fortunes. It cannot be denied that little generalship was displayed by some of the chief officers of the Federal army; for during a large part of the engagement, the men fought in a great measure under the impulse of personal bravery, without any uniform plan of operations, and often fired at will. The enemy fought with very great advantages, being protected by their extensive works, to which, after each renewed repulse, they could







retire in comparative safety. From their breastworks they hurled a deluge of grape shot and canister against their assailants, and many fell from musketry and rifle balls. Nevertheless, the Federal troops fought with the utmost resolution, and repeatedly gained important successes by their heroic exertions.

When darkness fell on Saturday evening the issue of the conflict seemed undecided. The Rebels still held possession of the greater portion of their works, and it was expected that on the ensuing day, the battle would be renewed with increased fury. Accordingly, during Saturday night a concentration of all the Federal troops was made, and orders were given that every man should be at his post in the early dawn, prepared to charge the enemy at the point of the bayonet. This movement was to be made simultaneously along the whole line. During the hours of night an unusual and mysterious silence prevailed throughout the works of the Rebels. When at length the morning of Sunday, the 16th, dawned, the first sight which greeted the Federal commanders, was a number of white flags displayed at various intervals upon the fortifications. Soon afterward a flag of truce was seen approaching. It accompanied a letter from General Buckner, the commander of the Rebel forces, to General Grant, proposing that commissioners should be appointed to arrange the terms of the capitulation of the Confederate forces under his command, and asking for an armistice until twelve o'clock. To this communication General Grant immediately replied, that no terms whatever could be accepted except an unconditional and immediate surrender. At the same time he gave the Rebel officer the unwelcome information, that it was his intention to renew the attack without delay. This missive soon elicited a response from General Buckner,

in which, after complimenting himself and his troops upon the brilliant valor which they had exhibited, he added that he should accept the "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms" which had been designated. In a short time afterward the Federal troops advanced, entered, and took possession of the vast fortifications of the vanquished enemy. The stars and stripes were then unfurled over Fort Donelson, the largest and strongest of the Rebel fortresses in the southwest.

Then it was that the most singular and startling announcements were made to the victors. During the previous night Generals Floyd and Pillow had secretly made their escape from the entrenchments, having embarked with the utmost secrecy with about five thousand troops on the Rebel steamers which were lying in the river. Of the remainder, fifteen thousand became prisoners of war; many had deserted in small bodies; and the dead and wounded were numerous. Among the officers captured were General Buckner, Colonels Gnatt, Voorhees, Brown and Abernethy. Twelve thousand stand of arms were taken, a vast amount of ammunition and stores, fourteen thirty-two pounders, with other guns of smaller calibre. Among those who had distinguished themselves during the engagement were Generals Wallace, McClelland, and Charles F. Smith. The loss of the Rebels during this battle was about five hundred killed, and one thousand wounded. The loss on the Federal side was three hundred and fifty-five killed, fourteen hundred wounded and missing. The immense number of prisoners taken were transferred as quickly as possible to Camp Douglas, near Chicago, and to other suitable points in the northwest.

Major General Ulysses S. Grant, who commanded the Federal forces during this memorable combat, was born



in Clairmont county, Ohio, in 1822. He entered West Point Academy in 1839, and graduated in 1843, with the brevet rank of second lieutenant. He served under General Taylor during the Mexican war; also under General Scott, during his march from Vera Cruz to the capital; and was twice promoted for his meritorious conduct. He afterward became regimental quartermaster, and in 1854 had attained the rank of captain in the fourth infantry of regulars. Withdrawing then from the service into civil life, he removed to St. Louis county, Missouri, and thence to Galena. When the Rebellion broke forth he tendered his services to Governor Yates, was accepted, and appointed colonel of the twenty-first regiment of Illinois volunteers. He was soon after promoted to the rank of brigadier, and took a prominent part in many of the earlier scenes of the conflict in Missouri. He commanded in the southeastern district in that State; and by his occupation of Paducah, and by his gallant conduct in the battle of Belmont, he earned the higher rank of major general, to which he was promoted by President Lincoln, and in which he was confirmed by the Senate. The important conflicts at Forts Henry and Donelson added to the lustre of his renown.

General Charles Ferguson Smith, who distinguished himself greatly at Fort Donelson, was born in Pennsylvania in 1807. He entered the Academy at West Point in 1821, and graduated in 1825, with the rank of second lieutenant. In 1829 he was appointed an assistant instructor of infantry tactics at West Point. He remained at that institution till 1842, during which interval he attained the rank of captain. In April, 1847, he was brevetted major for his gallantry in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. He covered himself with laurels in many of the severest conflicts of the Mexican

war, especially at Contreras and Cherubusco, and received the rank of colonel. In August, 1861, he was made a brigadier general of volunteers, and immediately afterward took command of the troops stationed at Paducah. This valuable officer died at Savannah, Tennessee, on the 25th of April, 1862. The glorious triumph of the Union arms at Fort Donelson was due, in a very great measure, to his superior skill and gallantry.

The long and monotonous inactivity which had characterized the Army of the Potomac near Washington, during some months, was agreeably broken on the 14th of February by a bold and sudden movement of a part of the troops commanded by General Lander. That officer having ascertained that the brigade of the Rebel General Carson, four thousand in number, had taken a strong position at Bloomery Gap, resolved to attack them. He ordered the five hundred cavalry attached to his brigade to take the advance, and having reached the Cacapon river, to construct a bridge for the passage of the infantry who were to follow. This order was promptly executed. Twenty wagons were placed at intervals in the river, over which planks were laid, and thus in several hours at night a bridge was constructed a hundred and eighty feet in length, which admirably answered the purpose of transportation. It was located at a point seven miles distant from the Cacapon railroad, and about the same distance from Bloomery Gap, the contemplated scene of conflict.

General Lander had intended to make the attack during the night, and having driven the enemy through the Gap, to pursue them with his cavalry, and capture the officers and many of the men. But the enemy had already left their position, either suspicious of an attack or forewarned of its approach; so that when the Federal

troops charged through the Gap they encountered no one. General Lander ordered an immediate pursuit on the Winchester road by his cavalry, followed and supported by the eighth Ohio regiment and the seventh Virginia. They overtook the retreating foe about two miles from the Gap. The Rebels received them with a sharp fire of musketry, under which the cavalry wavered and showed unexpected signs of cowardice. In vain General Lander ordered them to advance and charge. Not a man stirred. The General then exclaimed "follow me!" One private only, named John Gannon, answered the appeal. Accompanied by this solitary hero, and by Major Armstrong his adjutant, Major Bannister, and Fitz James O'Brien, members of his staff, General Lander rode forward toward a group of Rebel officers, several hundred yards distant, and ordered them to surrender. The boldness and daring of this movement seemed to have paralyzed those officers, and they immediately complied. But the Rebel infantry posted in the adjacent woods having commenced a brisk fire, General Lander ordered Colonel Anestanzel to attack them with his cavalry, and attempt to secure their baggage; while the movement was to be supported by the infantry.

At first the cavalry seemed disposed to refuse obedience, and General Lander, justly enraged at their cowardice, shot at one of his men without hitting him. After repeated orders the cavalry advanced, and charged upon the enemy, who were then retreating. The pursuit was continued for eight miles, under Colonel Carroll's direction, until he reached the limits of General Lander's department. The result of this engagement was the capture of eighteen commissioned officers and forty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, together with fifteen baggage wagons. The loss of the Rebels was

thirty killed; that of the Federals was seven killed and wounded. The rout of the enemy was complete, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the cavalry. That inefficiency was attributed to the fact, that several of their officers were absent, that they had never before been under fire, and that they were unaccustomed to practice with the sabre.

General Lander, the hero of this spirited movement, was a remarkably brave and chivalrous officer. His subsequent premature death was a serious loss to the Federal cause. He was a native of Salem, Massachusetts. Though not regularly educated to the profession of arms, he possessed ample military knowledge, and all the qualities necessary to render him a successful commander. During the years 1859 and 1860 he served as superintendent of the overland wagon-road to California. Immediately after the commencement of the war he joined the staff of General McClellan as a volunteer in Western Virginia. He afterward became provost marshal under that officer. At the battle of Rich Mountain he distinguished himself by his coolness and intrepidity. His horse was there killed under him. He then fought on foot and attacked a Rebel gun. He shot all the men who served it with his own hand, except three. The remainder then fled, leaving a lieutenant alone to work it. That officer continued to discharge the gun, when General Lander ordered him to surrender on pain of immediate death. He refused and continued to fire. Lander then turned away and exclaimed to his men: "I cannot shoot so brave a man, you must do it!" He soon fell, pierced with four bullets. After the battle and the victory General Lander, with chivalrous generosity, ordered the body of the deceased officer to be conveyed under an escort across the mountain, to a point near



which the enemy had encamped, and delivered to his late companions in arms. General Lander died on the 2d of March, 1862, in his camp in Northern Virginia, from congestion of the brain. By that event an ampler page of heroic history will henceforth remain forever unwritten, which without doubt would have otherwise graced the annals of the war.

The recent reverses which had overtaken the Rebel arms in almost every department of the arena of conflict, did not prevent the Confederates from observing the ceremony of electing the chief officers of their government, who were to serve during the term of the ensuing six years. Accordingly, the period for which their Provisional administration had been erected being about to expire, Jefferson Davis was chosen President, and A. H. Stephens Vice-President of the Confederate States, by the unanimous votes of the conventions of all the States which were connected with the Rebellion. The ceremony of the inauguration of these officers took place at Richmond, on the 22d of February, with as great a display of pomp and dignity as could be mustered for the occasion. The oath of office was administered to the President by the Hon. J. D. Halyburton, the Chief Confederate judge, and to A. H. Stephens by the president of the Rebel Senate. The inaugural address of the executive was the most remarkable feature of the occasion. It had been elaborated with great care, and was adroitly adapted to produce a favorable impression upon his constituents. But in spite of all his artificial periods and his simulated confidence, an air of extreme despondency pervaded his utterances. He reiterated the effete accusation, that the Federal Government had given birth to the Rebellion, by its unjust legislation against the interests of the South. He charged the Northern armies

with cruelty and ferocity in the manner in which they had conducted the contest. He dwelt upon the love of justice and the preference for peace which had characterized the Confederate States, and upon their efforts to avert the horrors of war by an amicable settlement of difficulties at Washington. He congratulated his constituents on the intrepidity and heroism with which they had thus far defended their sacred rights, and had resisted the arms of their oppressors. He admitted that the Confederate forces had recently suffered the most serious disasters; but he affirmed that the effect of these misfortunes would simply be, to unite them in a more determined and unconquerable resolution to achieve their liberties. As a chief encouragement he reminded his hearers, that the vast pecuniary burdens which the Federal Government was assuming, would soon crush it to the earth, and render it incapable of further efficient assaults upon their rights and their territories.\*

While the Rebel authorities were thus consoling themselves by cheering prognostications of the future, the rapid progress of events continually and repeatedly falsified their hopes. On the 1st of March the right wing of the Army of the Potomac under General Banks crossed the river, advanced into Virginia, and occupied Bolivar, Charlestown, and Martinsburg. This important movement was a portion of the great network of opera-

\* The officers of the cabinet appointed by Jefferson Davis were as follows:

J. P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, Secretary of State.

General George W. Randolph, of Virginia, Secretary of War.

S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy.

C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Henry, M. C. from Kentucky, Postmaster General.

Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, Attorney-General.

tions, by which the Federal armies, in several vast bodies, were intended to approach Richmond by opposite routes, and thus attack it and its defenders simultaneously. At Charlestown eight hundred barrels of flour prepared for the Rebel army were captured. The corps under Banks were steadily approaching Winchester, where the enemy were posted under Jackson in considerable strength.

In other portions of the Union fortune seemed to have deserted the Confederate cause still more unequivocally. In Missouri the expedition which had been organized under Jefferson Thompson, was attacked at Sykestown by the Union cavalry attached to the brigades of Generals Hamilton, Morgan and Pope, and were driven into the swamps with the loss of six pieces of artillery, and forty prisoners. On the 2d of March a flotilla consisting of six gunboats, under the command of Flag Officer Foote, sailed down the Mississippi river to Columbus, Kentucky, and made a demonstration against the Rebel works which had been erected there. Anticipating a formidable attack from the Federal forces, the enemy deemed it more judicious to retire. They therefore abandoned their fortifications, and evacuated the town. It had been the strongest Rebel position in the valley of the Mississippi. But before their flight they endeavored to destroy their barracks, the town, and their magazines by fire. They sank a number of their heaviest guns in the river. The Federal forces took possession peaceably, of what remained of the recent stronghold of the fugitives. The occupation of Columbus delivered the State of Kentucky from the presence and supremacy of the Rebel arms. Generals Cullum and Sherman commanded the land forces which were intended to coöperate with

the gunboats, in the expected attack on the abandoned works.

Nearly cotemporaneous with this event, was the desertion of Nashville by the Rebel forces which had been assembled there, and its occupation by the Federal troops under General Buell. The stars and stripes were again unfurled from the stately dome of the capitol of Tennessee. The presence of the Union troops in this city, produced a magical effect upon the opinions of thousands of the inhabitants of that State, who immediately declared themselves in favor of the Federal Government, and solicitous for its eventual triumph. It was already proposed that Andrew Johnson should be appointed by President Lincoln the Military Provisional Governor of Tennessee, until the legitimate civil authorities could be reëstablished. Thus, over the entire area of the West and South, wherever the rival republics came into collision, success at this period uniformly attended the champions of the Federal Union.

Suddenly the nation was astounded by the report of a reverse from an unexpected source, of the most novel and unusual character. On the 8th of March a steam vessel of singular structure and appearance was observed by the lookout at Fortress Monroe, to issue from the harbor at Norfolk, and sail down the channel toward Sewell's Point. Signal guns were immediately fired to notify the Union vessels, the Cumberland, the Congress, the Minnesota, the St. Lawrence, and the Roanoke—which were then riding at anchor in Hampton Roads—of the approach of danger. The mysterious craft seemed like a floating house, with its roof and chimney only above the water. Slowly but steadily she pursued her way through the channel toward Newport News, and then turned toward the mouth of James river, where the



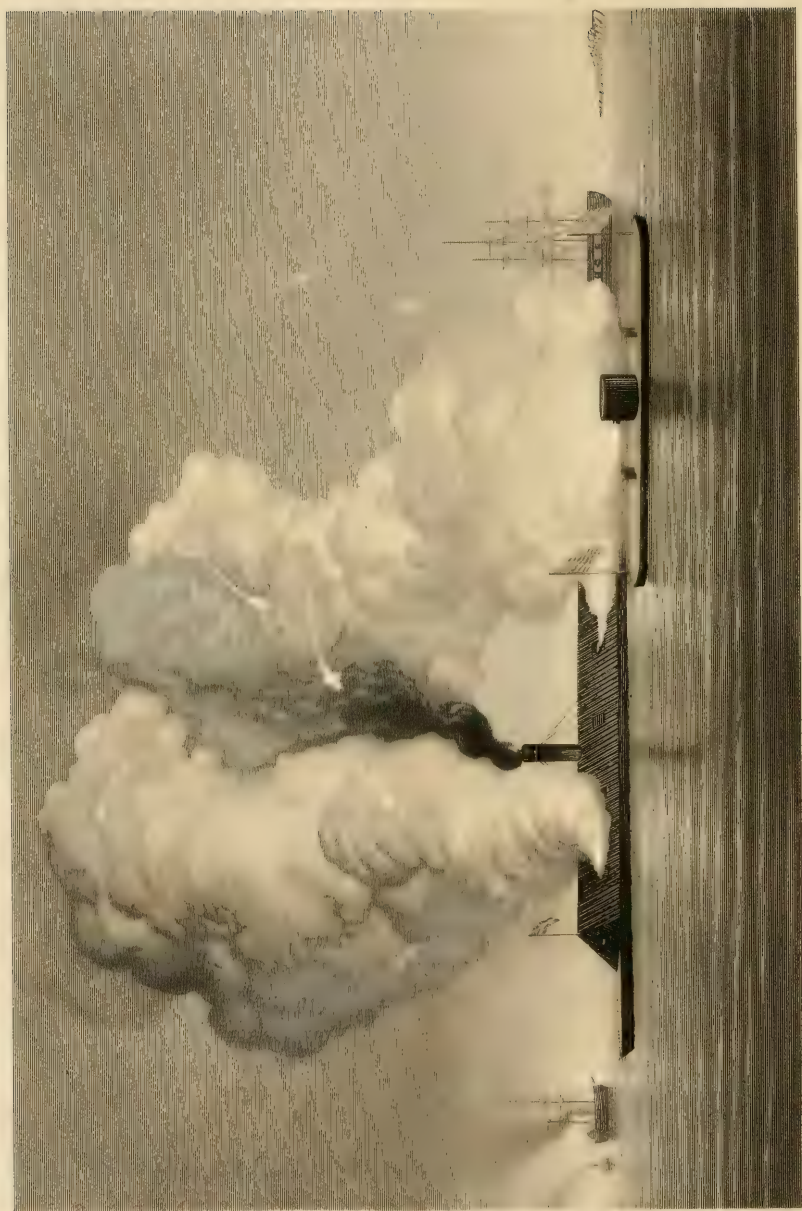
Cumberland and the Congress lay. Soon her fatal character and mission became evident. She was recognized as the famous iron-clad steamer and battering ram Merrimac, which the Rebel Government had for some time been constructing at Norfolk.

As this dangerous monster silently approached the Cumberland, that vessel discharged a volley from her heavy guns at the stranger. The balls indeed reached their aim, but they did not produce the slightest perceptible effect. They glanced from her iron sides and deck, leaving no trace of their contact. The Congress also added the complement of her artillery to those of the Cumberland, but with an equally harmless result. The Rebel craft seemed to defy and scorn their attacks; for she continued steadily to approach, her ports all silent and shut, but under the impetus of a powerful head of steam. At length she steered with direct aim and increased velocity toward the Cumberland. She struck her amidships with her iron beak, making a frightful gash in her side. She then fired a volley into the wounded vessel, drew off a short distance, and repeated the ferocious assault. It was enough to seal her fate. The Cumberland had been fatally disabled, and was instantly in a sinking condition. During the progress of this attack, two Rebel steamers, the Yorktown and Jamestown, had descended the James river and engaged the Union vessels on the other side.

The Merrimac having thus destroyed the Cumberland, turned her prow and addressed herself to the Congress. This vessel was unable to make any effective resistance, her crew having been discharged the day before, and several companies of the naval brigade being only temporarily on board. When her commander saw the hopelessness of resistance, the wooden vessels being

entirely at the mercy of the iron batterer, he struck his colors to avoid the destruction which had overtaken the Cumberland. The Jamestown then approached, received on board the officers of the Congress as prisoners, and gave the crew an opportunity to escape in the boats. The vessel was then fired by the Rebels. Immediately after this achievement, the Merrimac, the Yorktown, and the Jamestown commenced an attack in concert on the batteries of Newport News, to which that fort responded with vigor. Meanwhile the Congress burned to the water's edge, and before sinking blew up. The Cumberland also sank. The loss of life in both ships was considerable, inasmuch as a large number of the crews of both were unable to escape in the boats. The Merrimac having completed her intended achievements, returned in triumph to Norfolk, capturing in her passage several small vessels. This sudden demonstration of naval power was one of the most noteworthy incidents which had yet occurred during the war. Never before had the efficiency of iron-clad steam batteries been so clearly demonstrated. It was now evident that the colossal wooden vessels which had for ages been the pride and the terror of European fleets, could be henceforth rendered harmless by the use of ships of much smaller proportions if incased in iron, if propelled by steam, and if armed with the sharp iron beaks, which had been familiar to the naval architecture of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Fortunately for the honor and safety of the Union cause, the private enterprise of an eminent and opulent citizen had constructed a vessel on the same principle; and that vessel, by an equally propitious accident, arrived in the vicinity of this disaster a few hours after its occurrence. The Ericsson iron-clad steamer Monitor reached Fortress Monroe at nine o'clock on the night of the 8th of March.





THE ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE "MONITOR" AND "MERIDIAN"



The next morning she proceeded out into the channel and invited the exulting enemy to an engagement. The offer was accepted, and soon the Merrimac, the Yorktown, and the Jamestown attempted to renew the triumph of the preceding day. A desperate combat of five hours duration ensued. The wooden vessels of the Rebels quickly found it expedient to retire, leaving the two iron bound monsters confronting each other. Then a most singular and novel spectacle was exhibited. During several hours the vessels fought fiercely, butting and grappling each other. They repeatedly discharged their heavy guns against each other's sides; but while the shot of the Merrimac rebounded harmlessly from the impenetrable covering of her antagonist, the greater calibre of the guns of the Monitor forced their thunderbolts through the sides of the Rebel craft, and severely damaged her. The Monitor was commanded with great skill and fortitude by Lieutenant J. S. Worden, who was wounded during the engagement. At its termination the Merrimac was towed back to the port of Norfolk, apparently disabled, and evidently with much less exultation than had characterized her return to her berth on the preceding day. The presence of the Monitor in Hampton Roads secured the Union vessels, which were enforcing the blockade of James river, from the future attacks of the Merrimac; and fortunately withered the laurels which had so suddenly sprung up, to decorate the brows of the Confederate naval heroes.

The Merrimac, whose sudden onslaught on the Federal ships excited so much surprise and indignation, originally belonged to the Federal Government, had been built in 1855 at the Charlestown navy yard, and was known in the Federal navy by the same name. She happened to be lying in the port of Norfolk, as a store and receiving

ship, at the period of the Rebel attack on that city. When the navy yard at Norfolk was abandoned and sacrificed in so mysterious a manner by Commodore McCaulley, the Merrimac was set on fire, scuttled, and sunk by his orders. She was thirty-two hundred tons burden, and pierced for forty guns. The rebel authorities, appreciating her value, subsequently raised the hull, and proceeded to convert her into an iron-clad battery. She was covered with a bomb-proof coating of wrought iron, several inches in thickness. Her bow was armed with a steel beak, projecting six feet under the water, with which to strike and perforate her opponents. Her decks were protected by a covering of railroad iron in the form of an arch, from which the shot and shell of her assailants necessarily glanced without effect. Her special mission was intended to be to sink the various vessels engaged in the blockade of the Southern ports; and it is probable that, had not the formidable and unexpected apparition of the Monitor suddenly intercepted her purpose, it would have been in a great measure accomplished, before any other effectual means to prevent it could have been obtained by the Federal Government.

The structure of the Monitor was essentially different from that of her rival. She was a hundred and seventy-two feet in length, and placed so low in the water as to afford little surface for the assaults of an assailant. Her deck was flat, and her sides encased in heavy armor. Both ends of the vessel were pointed, and she required very little water in which to float. The chief objects which appeared on her deck were a smoke stack and a turret. The latter was encased in wrought iron, several inches in thickness, and contained two guns, each ball of which weighed a hundred and eighty-four pounds. Within the bowels of the vessel a powerful engine was

placed, which drove her with resistless impetus against her enemy. Her flat deck was bomb-proof, and covered with iron plate an inch in thickness. The turret revolved, so as to be able to bring its tremendous guns to bear at any angle which might be desired. The vessel was a marvel of architectural skill, and of mechanical power, such as the present age had never before witnessed.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE IN ARKANSAS—GENERAL CURTIS—ATTACK OF THE REBELS ON THE REAR OF THE FEDERAL ARMY—GALLANTRY OF GENERAL SIGEL—CONTINUANCE OF THE BATTLE ON THE SECOND DAY—INCIDENTS OF THE CONTEST—IT IS RENEWED UPON THE THIRD DAY—COMPLETE ROUT OF THE REBELS—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY—SKETCHES OF GENERALS CURTIS AND SIGEL—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S ORDERS TO THE FEDERAL ARMIES TO MOVE ON THE TWENTY-SECOND OF FEBRUARY—GENERAL MCCLELLAN'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—SUDDEN EVACUATION OF MANASSAS BY THE REBELS—MOVEMENT OF FEDERAL TROOPS—BOMBARDMENT OF ISLAND NUMBER TEN—INCIDENTS OF THE CONTEST—REDUCTION OF THE REBEL WORKS—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL POPE—ARTIFICIAL CHANNEL CUT THROUGH JAMES BAYOU—GENERAL POPE ATTACKS THE REBELS AT TIPTONVILLE—CONSEQUENCES OF THE CAPTURE OF ISLAND NUMBER TEN—SKETCH OF GENERAL POPE—GENERAL BURNSIDE ATTACKS NEWBERN—THE REBELS SURRENDER—CONSEQUENCES OF THIS VICTORY.

THE unromantic name of Pea Ridge will hereafter designate, on the historic page, one of the most protracted and desperate struggles which occurred during the progress of the war against Secession. This rugged spot is situated amid the mountain wilds of Arkansas. It was there that the Rebel Generals Van Dorn, McCulloch, and Price had concentrated the forces under their several orders; and on the 6th, the 7th, and the 8th of March, 1862, contested the palm of victory with the Federal troops under the command of Generals Curtis and Sigel. The forces of the enemy numbered about thirty-five thousand men; their opponents numbered twenty-five thousand. The latter consisted of volunteers from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa. This engagement



commenced on the 6th of March by an attack of the Rebel cavalry on the rear of the Union army. The purpose of this movement seemed to be to get possession of the wagon-trains of the Federals. General Sigel being in command of that portion of the troops, resisted the enemy with great gallantry. He protected the train during several hours with eight hundred men, against an attack of fifteen hundred. The first day of the conflict wore away in various unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Rebels to get possession of the trains, by breaking and dispersing the right wing of the Federals. At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the enemy renewed the attack. During the preceding night General Curtis had made important changes in the disposition of his troops, and had strengthened those portions of his line against which he anticipated the most vigorous assaults. The centre of the Rebels was led in person by the notorious Benjamin McCulloch, who made prodigious exertions to overpower the firm and steady ranks of the Federals, commanded by Colonel Davis of Missouri. Repeatedly did that renowned warrior bring up his men to the attack, and as often were they with heavy slaughter repulsed. Once only did his troops obtain an advantage by driving back the Federals from "Cross Timber Hollow," which had been occupied by Colonel Carr. But he paid dearly for this temporary success. His columns were assailed with renewed determination, by a combined attack of the troops under Colonel Osterhaus, Colonel Davis, and General Sigel, and were discomfited with immense loss. It was during this struggle that General McCulloch was slain. He fell while fighting in the thickest of the combat.

At the end of the second day's engagement, the advantage greatly preponderated in favor of the Federals.

During the following night General Curtis made additional changes in the position of his forces, and when the morning of the 8th dawned he was prepared to receive the renewed attack of the enemy. The combatants on both sides seemed eager for the struggle, and the firing began at sunrise. It soon became general along the whole line, which extended several miles in circuit. The Federal left wing under Sigel made a forward movement against the enemy posted on the hills. General Curtis then ordered his centre and right also to advance, and turning the left wing of the enemy, to assail his centre. This order was admirably executed, and the Rebels were placed by this skillful strategy in the arc of a circle of destructive firing. The situation of affairs having thus been brought into a propitious state, General Curtis commanded a general charge to be made with the bayonet. The result was decisive. The Rebels were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled precipitately on all sides. The division under Price retreated in one direction, that under Van Dorn escaped in another. The pursuit was continued by General Sigel toward Keithsville, and by the cavalry toward the mountains. The rout of the enemy was complete. Their loss was heavy. The death of McCulloch was a fatal blow to their cause in the remoter southwest, where his reckless bravery and his military skill had long inspired them with energy and hope. Their killed and wounded were about two thousand. The victors captured more than a thousand prisoners. The Federal loss was about five hundred killed, nine hundred wounded. A peculiar feature of this engagement was the presence of several thousand Indians in the Rebel lines, commanded by Albert Pike. Their savage instincts during the conflict were demonstrated by the fact, that after its termination, many of

the wounded and slain of the Federal troops were found to have been scalped; thus renewing in those wild western solitudes at the present day, the primeval scenes of sanguinary slaughter, which had characterized and disgraced the earlier struggles which occurred on the American Continent.

The chief heroes of this great battle were Generals Samuel R. Curtis and Franz Sigel. The former was born in Ohio in 1808. He entered West Point in 1827, and in 1831 was breveted second lieutenant of the seventh infantry. He afterward devoted himself more particularly to civil engineering, and in 1837 became chief engineer of the Muskingum river improvements. At a later period he became engineer of the Board of Public Works of the State of Ohio. In 1846 he was appointed Adjutant General of that State. During the Mexican war he served as colonel of the third Ohio regiment; became assistant adjutant general to General Wool, and subsequently civil and military governor of Saltillo, Matamoras, Camargo, and Monterey. Returning to the United States, he commenced or resumed the practice of the law; but abandoned it upon being chosen chief engineer of the Des Moines railroad in Iowa. He was afterward elected a representative of Iowa in the Thirty-Fifth Congress; and was several times rechosen. When the Rebellion broke forth Colonel Curtis raised a regiment in Iowa, of which he took the chief command. He resigned his seat in Congress, and having been made a brigadier general, assisted General Fremont in Missouri. In January, 1862, he left Rolla with twenty thousand men, drove Sterling Price from Springfield, routed him at Cross Hollow, and crowned his victorious career by his splendid victory at Pea Ridge. In reward for his valuable and gallant services, he was afterward promoted

to the rank of major general. The events of this war, which elicited the superior abilities of so many able commanders, have called forth the energies and services of few men more worthy of renown than General Curtis.

A far different kind of interest appertains to the history of Franz Sigel. He was nursed in the revolutionary storms of the old world; and when triumphant despots there succeeded in arresting the spirit of liberty, he emigrated to the home of the free in the far West. He was born in Baden in the year 1824, and received his education at the military school at Carlsruhe. His rise in his profession was rapid. In 1847 he had attained the rank of chief adjutant; and was regarded as one of the most accomplished officers of artillery in Germany. In 1848 the revolutionary movements commenced in that country, and his enthusiastic spirit soon enlisted him in the service of those who sought to disenthral the German Fatherland from the dominion of its hereditary tyrants. He was appointed to the chief command of one of the armies of the Liberals, and in several engagements distinguished himself by gallantry and skill. On one occasion he confronted eighty thousand men with thirty thousand; and though a victory against such immense odds was impossible, he made good his retreat without the loss of men or guns. The conclusion of the war and the subjugation of the patriots compelled him to flee. After various changes and vicissitudes he was chosen professor in a college at St. Louis, in which, among other departments of science, he gave instruction in the military art. When the Southern Rebellion began, it was the signal for Sigel to abandon the peaceful pursuits of academic life, and reënter the stormy arena of conflict. Such a man as Sigel, in such a time, and in such a cause, could not possibly remain inactive. He took the lead



among the gallant Germans of Missouri who tendered their services to the Federal Government. He assumed the command of the third regiment of volunteers which was raised at St. Louis. We have already narrated the chief events of his career subsequent to this period. After the death of General Lyon at Springfield, he conducted the retreat to Rolla with great ability. The distinguished part which he enacted at the battle of Pea Ridge, elevated him to a high place among the most eminent and efficient of the generals of the Union during the civil war. His services were properly rewarded, at a subsequent period, by his promotion to the rank of major general.

On the 12th of March, 1862, the nation was suddenly surprised and gratified by the announcement, that at length President Lincoln had issued positive orders that the Federal armies, including that of the Potomac which had for so many months remained inactive, should commence a general advance against the forces of the Rebels. This order, although not published until the 12th of March, had been issued privately to the various commanders on the 27th of January previous; and the 22d of February, the anniversary of the birth-day of the Father of his Country, was designated as the day on which that welcome movement should begin. Time, however, was allowed to the commander of the Army of the Potomac, to complete the necessary organization of his troops before moving, if such further organization should be requisite.

Several days after the public announcement of this order, General McClellan issued an address to his army, in which he stated that the time of inaction having passed by, the hour of aggressive operations had arrived and that the accurate drilling and training which were

essential to the efficiency of any army had now been attained. He urged them to display bravery, fidelity, and endurance in the operations which were before them; and encouraged them by the prospects of victory, subsequent peace, and the restoration of the Union. In accordance with the promise contained in this address, a portion of the army of the Potomac began to advance. They took the route toward Centreville and Manassas, which had already been rendered famous by the engagement at Bull's Run. During some days previous to the march vague reports had been current throughout the country, that the Rebel army which had wintered on the Potomac, had retreated toward Gordonville; and that the battle-ground which they had fortified with so much labor and skill, was no longer defended by them against the advance of the Federal forces. To the astonishment of the whole nation, these reports, which at first seemed incredible, were found upon examination to be perfectly true. The great Rebel army had actually vacated their position at Manassas, and were retreating southward as the Federal troops advanced. Their object was now supposed to be, to concentrate their strength nearer to Richmond; and it must be admitted that, by this movement they gained some important strategical advantages. The fortifications which they had thus abandoned were formidable. They extended from a point half a mile north of Centreville, toward the south as far as the eye could reach. The embrasures had been mounted by heavy guns, which were withdrawn in the retreat. There were ample indications that the ammunition and the stores of the Rebel army had been abundant. Vast warehouses had been erected at Manassas for the storage of provisions, and miles of well-constructed huts demonstrated, that during the winter the comfort and

health of their forces had been carefully attended to. After their retrograde movement, it did not comport with the plans of the Federal commanders to pursue the line of advance farther in that direction; and the troops returned toward Washington, to continue their operations against the enemy by another and a more circuitous route. That portion of the Federal army which was led by General Banks, proceeded toward Harper's Ferry, and took possession of Leesburg. This corps was destined to pursue the retreating enemy toward Winchester, where it was understood they had taken a strong position which they defended with a formidable force.

The admirable plan for the subjugation of the southwestern portion of the Rebel States which General Halleck had elaborated, required that the Mississippi river should be opened to the advance of the Federal armies, and that the road to Memphis should be unobstructed. To resist this suspected purpose, the Rebels had taken possession of an island in that river known as Number Ten, had collected together there an army of fifteen thousand men, had fortified it with great skill and industry, and had thus far effectually intercepted the navigation of the river. This island is situated in a bend of the stream, which touches the territory of Tennessee, and is located two hundred and forty miles from St. Louis, nine hundred and fifty from New Orleans. The Rebel fortifications mounted forty guns of heavy calibre. They possessed also a river force of five gunboats and a floating battery. It had now become essentially necessary to the interests of the Federal cause that this stronghold should be attacked and taken.

The Federal fleet of gunboats and mortar flats destined for this service, was placed under the command of Commodore Foote. On the 15th of March the gunboats

Benton, Louisville, Cincinnati, Carondelet, and Conestoga proceeded from Cairo. At Columbus they were joined by the Pittsburg, St. Louis, and Mound City, together with eight mortar flats, with transports and ordnance boats. All these vessels sailed down the river, reached the scene of conflict on the same day, and took their positions about two miles above the island. Commodore Foote immediately commenced the bombardment with three of his batteries. General Pope, who was besieging New Madrid, ten miles below the Island, and who had erected works extending fifteen miles along the shore, as far as Point Pleasant, commanded the river below, so as to prevent the escape of the Rebels in that direction. Vain attempts had been made to send transports through the Bayous to the assistance of General Pope; but a gunboat was indispensably necessary to protect those vessels during their transit. At length the Carondelet was selected to pass the Rebel batteries and to perform that service. On her port side a flat boat was lashed, loaded with bales of compressed hay, which protected her from the works erected on the Kentucky shore. On her opposite side a barge laden with coal was attached, which would furnish the necessary fuel. At ten o'clock at night she was cast loose and commenced to sail slowly down the stream. At that moment a storm of terrific fury came raging up the river; the rain descended in a deluge; the thunder peals were appalling; the lightning was fearfully vivid and blinding. In the midst of this chaos of the warring elements, the Carondelet began to run the gauntlet of the Rebel batteries. As she passed the second of these, a broad and fierce blaze of flame, accompanied by a deafening roar, indicated to thousands of anxious spectators in the vicinity that the Rebels had at length observed the vessel in the darkness, and had



opened on her. Still she proceeded in silence on her way. Battery after battery saluted her as she passed. Slowly and steadily she steamed ahead, and made no response to her assailants. In twenty minutes she passed all the batteries unharmed and untouched. Forty-seven shots had been vainly fired at her. Then her powerful guns answered in an exultant peal, which told that she had attained a point beyond the reach of danger. Myriads of patriots on the Federal gunboats, and on the shore, set up a tumultuous shout of joy, which drowned even the loud howlings of the tempest. The Carondelet then proceeded to New Madrid, to the assistance of General Pope, who soon after made his approaches with such skill and vigor that the Rebels, rather than endure the horrors of an assault, evacuated the place on the 14th of March. General Pope then took possession of it, and obtained a vast amount of stores, ammunition and guns.

It was soon ascertained that the Rebels had erected a large number of batteries, both on the Kentucky and the Tennessee banks of the Mississippi, for the purpose of assisting the operations of their confederates on Island Number Ten. Their river boats were also found to be efficient, and assailed the batteries of Commodore Foote with great spirit. But the power and effect of the Federal mortars far transcended those of the enemy. The shells which were discharged by the former were of immense size, and being sent with remarkable precision into the works of the Rebels, produced the most disastrous results. A single mortar was capable of discharging in a single day about a hundred shells. The Rebels did not respond to the attack on the island until the evening of the 16th, when they opened their defence by firing a hundred and twenty pound rifled shell in the direction of the transports. This enormous missile fell and burst

a few yards astern of the Graham and the Silver Wave, which were crowded with troops; and had the aim of the Rebels been more accurate, they might have produced dreadful havoc. A portion of the Federal artillery was placed on the Missouri shore, in such a position as to be within range of those batteries on the island, which were beyond the reach of the guns of the fleet. On the 17th, Commodore Foote tried an experiment which proved successful. He ordered three gunboats, the Benton, the Cincinnati, and the St. Louis, to be lashed together, and while the mortars continued to play upon the works of the enemy, they slowly sailed down the river for the purpose of reconnoitering the batteries of the Rebels and drawing their fire from those works which might not yet have been observed. The result was that three batteries, located lower down on the island, commenced to fire, and with such accuracy that each of the three boats was struck during the excursion. One shot passed through the upper deck of the Cincinnati, another through the chimney of the Benton, and one of the guns on the St. Louis burst, killing four men and wounding ten. But the purpose of the adventure had been successfully accomplished.

The bombardment of the island continued from day to day, and the Federal vessels retained their original position. The firing was kept up with variable spirit on the part of the Rebels, and with such assiduity on the part of their assailants, as to prevent the enemy from strengthening or repairing their fortifications. These became considerably damaged by the Federal guns; but the effect of their fire on the Federal boats was unimportant. Thus, during the operations of an entire day only four shots of all those discharged by the forts on the island struck any of the vessels. On the 18th, six

additional mortar batteries came from Cairo and joined the besieging force. Sometimes the scene presented by the bombardment was one of great beauty and sublimity, especially when the firing was continued during the night. At such times the loud reverberation of the guns, waking up the unfamiliar echoes of the surrounding shores, the graceful passage of the shells in their parabolic course through the heavens, the sudden flashes of their explosion, illumining the darkness for miles around, the returning shells of the Rebels, issuing from the fortifications erected at different points on the island, their explosion above or near the tranquil bosom of the broad stream, the shouts of the combatants, and the calm intervals of silence, soon to be broken by the thunder tones of new and fresh discharges; these and many other incidents of the spectacle rendered it one of novel and impressive interest.

During a portion of the time occupied by the bombardment, the Federal fleet did not put forth its entire strength, and the firing was occasionally suspended. This enigma then seemed unaccountable to the enemy, but at a later period it was sufficiently explained. The design of this mysterious but masterly inactivity was to occupy the attention of the Rebels, and retain all those troops which they had collected on the island in that position, that they might not interfere with the other operations of the besiegers, and with the plans of General Pope. During this interval, the enemy were permitted to strengthen their works, and thus they served the purposes of the Federals by protracting the bombardment. Meanwhile General Pope was strengthening his position, and rendering the ultimate escape of the enemy down the Mississippi still more impracticable, by erecting an additional battery on the Missouri

shore, two miles below Tiptonville. One of the first achievements of that battery was to sink a transport, filled with stores for the enemy, which was proceeding from the Kentucky shore to the head of the island. On the 29th Commodore Foote renewed the bombardment with vigor. The rebels replied with equal spirit, and from new points which they had recently fortified. At this period the cutting of a channel for the passage of large boats through the James Bayou, a swampy peninsula, formed by a bend in the river, was commenced. The purpose of this novel and extremely difficult enterprise was to enable General Pope to convey troops over to the Tennessee side; and by that means, in conjunction with the Union forces which were approaching the scene of conflict from that direction, to surround the enemy more completely. This extraordinary work was accomplished by sawing off the heavy timber which encumbered the Bayou, beneath the surface of the water, for a distance of ten miles. Few more remarkable instances of perseverance and determination can be found than this enterprise, in the annals of modern warfare. At length, on the 7th of April, General Pope transferred a portion of his army through this new channel to the shore of Tennessee. Four steamers were used for the conveyance of these troops. The remainder of his army was transported by the same route afterward.

This channel was created by Colonel Bissel and his regiment of engineers. Their work deserved to be placed among those great masterpieces of mechanical skill, of which the Simplon across the Alps—one of the proudest products of Napoleon's genius—is considered as the most colossal. On the 6th of April General Pope ordered Captain Walker to make a reconnoissance in the Carondelet to Tiptonville, for the purpose of drawing



the fire of the concealed batteries which the Rebels had there erected. The exploration was successful, the position of the guns was ascertained, and they were immediately attacked and silenced. The troops on board, consisting of the twenty-seventh Illinois regiment, then landed, spiked the guns, broke the carriages, and threw the ammunition into the river.

On the 7th General Pope, with a portion of his troops, marched to Tiptonville, and attacked the Rebel troops which were posted at that point. The latter were completely routed, and fled into the surrounding swamps. The Federals captured a large number of prisoners, together with cannon and ammunition. This disaster, combined with the knowledge of the construction of the channel through the James Bayou, and the renewed vigor of the attack of the Union fleet on their works on the island, disheartened the Rebels who were posted there, and induced them to surrender their stronghold. This protracted drama came to a sudden close on the 7th of March. At nine o'clock in the evening, a messenger was sent by the Rebel commander to Commodore Foote, proposing to capitulate, and inquiring what terms might be expected. The commodore replied, that no terms whatever would be allowed, except an unconditional surrender. At one o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the surrender was formally made. Commodore Foote immediately sent Colonel Buford with two gunboats to take possession of the island. Had the enemy not yielded at that precise period, a simultaneous attack on the island would have been made at once, by the mortar boats, the gunboats, and the land forces under General Pope. The result of this combined movement could not have been doubtful; but the voluntary surrender of the Rebel com-

mander opportunely averted the heavy sacrifice of human life which it would necessarily have involved.

The consequences of the capture of this island were very important. The number of batteries which passed into the possession of the Federalists was eleven, mounting seventy heavy guns. A floating battery of sixteen lighter cannon, which the Rebels had cut adrift, was afterward recovered. A vast quantity of munitions of war, four steamers, and several gunboats were also taken. The number of prisoners captured was seventeen officers, three hundred and sixty-eight privates, beside several hundred sick and wounded. The defence of the island had been conducted by the Rebel General William D. Makall, who became a prisoner of war. As soon as the surrender of the works became known, the Confederate troops stationed on the Tennessee shore retreated with precipitation. This great victory, as might reasonably be expected, filled the nation with rejoicing; and they approved with sincerity the message which was immediately afterward sent to the victors by the Secretary of the Navy, expressive of the public gratitude for their services, and exultation at their success.

Major General John Pope, who divided with Commodore Foote the chief glory attendant upon this conquest, was born in Kentucky in 1821. He entered West Point Academy in 1838, and graduated in 1842. He then received the brevet rank of second lieutenant of topographical engineers. He distinguished himself by his gallantry during the Mexican war, especially at the battles of Monterey and Buena Vista. In July, 1856, he obtained the rank of captain for his heroism in the latter engagement. In May, 1861, he was made a brigadier general of volunteers. Though younger than many of his associate officers of similar rank in the army, General







Pope was inferior to few of them in energy, ability, and professional skill. His achievements at New Madrid and at Island Number Ten, especially his bold and original conception of cutting a channel through swampy Bayou near that island, and the success which attended his persevering efforts, deserve to hold a prominent place, and to be invested with no secondary interest, among the many thrilling and noteworthy events which, in all coming time, will enliven and decorate the annals of the civil war in the United States.

After the conquest of Roanoke Island by General Burnside, that officer prepared to extend his operations; and on the 10th of March sailed southward through Pamlico Sound, for the purpose of assailing the Rebel fortifications which had been erected at Newbern. This place is situated at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers, about a hundred and fifty miles from Roanoke Island. It was a port of entry for North Carolina, and the capital of Craven county. Its capture was a necessary preliminary to the attack on Beaufort, in North Carolina, as well as to that on Fort Macon. The batteries of the Rebels had been erected two miles below Newbern. Their earthworks extended over a front of nearly two miles, mounted forty-six heavy guns, and were defended by a numerous force. The attack was made on the 14th of March, the troops having been landed on the previous evening at the mouth of Slocum Creek, on the west side of the Neuse river, about fifteen miles below Newbern. They were divided by General Burnside into three brigades, commanded by Generals Reno, Parks, and Foster. The Rebels had also erected a series of batteries along the banks of the Neuse. These were successively attacked and taken by the Federal troops, in their advance toward Newbern. In front of their entrench-

ments the enemy had felled a number of trees, and these were so arranged as to form an almost impenetrable abattis. The works were defended by about four thousand Rebels, while a reserve of four thousand was stationed at Newbern. The Federals, eight thousand in number, advanced with spirit to the attack on the works at which the Rebels had determined to make their final and most desperate stand. A conflict of three hours duration ensued. The Federals fought at musket range until their ammunition was exhausted. General Burnside then ordered a general charge to be made with the bayonet. This movement, executed with the utmost gallantry, decided the issue of the day. The Rebels fled with precipitation, and left the most valuable trophies in the possession of the victors. During the progress of the battle, an important advantage was gained by the Federalists, by a flank movement effected by the second brigade commanded by General Reno, assisted by a portion of the third. The Rebels fought with desperation; and in one instance, when a portion of the twenty-first Massachusetts regiment had advanced with too much eagerness within the entrenchments of the enemy, they were overpowered by superior numbers and compelled to retreat. The advantage, however, was but temporary; for soon afterward the whole mass of Rebel troops were driven in the greatest confusion from their works. They left all their guns unspiked. These fell into the hands of the victors, together with three thousand small arms, three light batteries of field artillery, a vast amount of ammunition, and three hundred prisoners. The loss of the Federals was seventy killed, two hundred and fifty wounded.

After taking possession of the deserted entrenchments, General Burnside pressed forward to occupy Newbern.

The army passed rapidly along the railroad and the stage road. In their retreat the Rebels set fire to the bridge across the Trent, and afterward attempted, with less success, to burn the city. This ruthless purpose was defeated by the exertions of a number of the inhabitants who remained. It became necessary for the Federal troops to delay on the banks of the river, until the transports had sailed up from below. The first brigade at length embarked and passed over. The second and third bivouacked during the night of the 14th on the other side, and did not cross until the next day. Newbern was nearly deserted by its white population, and the negroes were revelling in a drunken carnival of barbarous license. A provost guard was immediately established to restore order, and secure the safety of life and property. The possession of this important place was thus obtained by the Federal forces by a most brave and brilliant assault. The immediate result of this conquest was the cutting off of all railroad communication with Beaufort, as well as between Richmond, Charleston, and the Atlantic slave States; the control of a large part of eastern North Carolina; and an easy advance either toward Raleigh in the interior, or toward Fort Macon on the south.

## CHAPTER XIX.

MOVEMENTS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC—ITS SUBDIVISIONS—THE BATTLE OF WINCHESTER—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE—ITS RESULTS—THE KILLED AND WOUNDED—SKETCH OF GENERAL SHIELDS—CONCENTRATION OF THE REBEL TROOPS NEAR CORINTH—APPROACH OF THE FEDERAL ARMY UNDER GENERAL GRANT—DISPOSITION OF THE REBEL ARMY—COMMENCEMENT OF THE BATTLE OF PITTSBURG LANDING OR SHILOH—ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF GENERAL PRENTISS'S TROOPS—EFFORTS OF GENERALS SHERMAN AND McCLELLAN—THE ENGAGEMENT BECOMES GENERAL—DESPERATE FIGHTING ON BOTH SIDES—GRADUAL REPULSE AND RETREAT OF THE FEDERAL ARMY—TERRIFIC SCENES—INTERPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL GUNBOATS—END OF THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE—ARRIVAL OF GENERAL BUELL—DISPOSITION OF TROOPS DURING THE ENSUING NIGHT—THE SECOND DAY'S CONFLICT—INCIDENTS OF THIS DAY—SKILL AND ENERGY OF GENERAL BUELL—THE TIDE OF VICTORY IS GRADUALLY REVERSED—ULTIMATE DEFEAT OF THE REBELS—THEIR RETREAT TO CORINTH—SKETCH OF GENERAL BUELL—RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

WHEN at length in compliance with the positive order of President Lincoln, the great army of the Potomac, numbering over two hundred thousand men, moved to the conquest of Richmond, it was divided into several separate *corps d'armée*. The largest and most important of these was commanded by General McClellan. After leaving Manassas it was conveyed by transports down the Potomac to Fortress Monroe, and having afterward disembarked below Yorktown, prepared to effect the reduction of that place, and then advance toward the Rebel capital. The second corps under General McDowell pursued a middle line of march, due south, toward the city of Fredericksburg. The third, under General Banks,



passing through Harper's Ferry, proceeded to Winchester, and thence through the valley of the Shenandoah, by Strasburg, Woodstock, New Market, and Harrisonburg, toward Staunton. It was a portion of this force which encountered a large body of Rebels near Winchester, and which, led on by General Shields, gained a decisive victory at that place.

The Rebel army which thus came into action near Winchester, was commanded by General T. J. Jackson. On Saturday, March 22d, 1862, some skirmishing took place between Ashby's famous cavalry and the Federal pickets, until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy appeared in larger numbers. They advanced as far as the Stone House Mill on the Strasburg turnpike. General Shields then ordered three batteries of artillery to be sent to the scene of action, and a brisk combat ensued between them and the Rebels. It was of short duration, however, for soon the latter broke and retreated. General Shields was on the field during the conflict, and was wounded in the arm. The enemy was followed a short distance, when night put an end to the pursuit.

On Sunday morning, March 23d, the Rebels, having been reinforced by five regiments of infantry and two batteries of artillery under General Garnett, renewed the conflict. Their united forces amounted to eight or ten thousand men. Their line of battle extended about a mile on the right of the village of Kerntown. The action commenced with the eighth Ohio regiment, which formed part of General Tyler's brigade. A furious assault was made on these troops, with the design of turning the right flank of the Federals. They were repulsed with great heroism by the Ohio troops; and although they emerged five times from the woods and from behind their stone wall parapets, they were invaria-

bly repulsed. The left wing of the Federals consisted of the thirteenth Indiana, the seventh Ohio, and a battery of the fourth regular artillery, commanded by Captain Jenks. The centre consisted of the fourteenth Indiana, the sixty-seventh Ohio, and the eighty-fourth Pennsylvania. The cavalry, comprising the first Michigan and the first Ohio, were drawn up in the rear. The Federal right included the eighth and fifth Ohio, and a battery of the first Virginia regiment. Three regiments constituted the reserve.

During the engagement all these troops except the cavalry were brought into action. The battle raged along the whole line from eleven in the morning until half-past two. At that time General Shields ordered his right wing to charge upon the enemy with the bayonet. Previous to issuing this order, he had strengthened his right by the addition of the eighty-fourth Pennsylvania and a battery of artillery. The left wing of the enemy, opposing the Federal right, had also been reinforced; and the execution of the order to charge had become one, not only of importance, but also of difficulty. On the success of the movement the issue of the conflict depended. It was three o'clock when all was ready, and the word of command was given. General Tyler led the charge at the head of his troops. As the Federals advanced toward the Rebels, they encountered a hail-storm from their artillery and small arms; and their loss was heavy. The former reserved their fire until they were within fifteen or twenty yards of the enemy; they then poured into them a destructive deluge of lead and iron, and charged upon them with the bayonet. But the resistance at first made was stubborn and resolute. The enemy fought bravely and contested the ground foot by foot. General Jackson had changed the position of some

of his troops during the action, so that now they presented the form of a concave front to their assailants; and his troops continued the struggle for victory with great determination.

Nevertheless, the valor of the Federal forces was destined to triumph. The Rebels at length began to retire, and fled about half a mile. They then placed their guns in position and renewed the contest. Overborne again by the heroism of their assailants, they resumed their retrograde movement, still bringing their guns to bear upon the pursuers at every opportunity. Thus the fight and the pursuit were continued until nightfall, when the victorious Federalists bivouacked during the night upon the battle-field. On the next day the chase of the Rebels continued as far as the vicinity of Strasburg. The fighting during the battle of Winchester was at some periods as desperate as can well be imagined; and the intensity of the struggle may be inferred from the single fact that, within a few minutes, four standard bearers of one of the Federal regiments were successively slain. Captain Whitcome, of the fifth Ohio, then took up the fallen colors; but he also fell in a few seconds, while cheering on his men. The battle-field, after such a conflict, necessarily presented a revolting spectacle. The loss on both sides was very heavy, when the number of combatants engaged is taken into consideration. Eighty-five Rebels were buried on the field in a single grave, thirty feet wide. Ten wagons filled with dead and wounded, accompanied the fugitives toward Strasburg. Along the stone parapet or wall which formed part of the enemy's line, their dead bodies were found piled in heaps upon each other. The loss on the Federal side was about one hundred and thirty killed, two hundred and fifty wounded. After the pursuit of

the rebels as far as Strasburg, they continued their retreat through the valley of the Shenandoah toward Woodstock.

General James Shields, whose skill and valor contributed so much to the victory of the troops under his command; was born in the county of Tyrone, Ireland, in 1810. He emigrated to this country when sixteen years of age, and settled in Kaskasia, one of the oldest villages of Illinois. He there engaged in the study of the law, and was admitted to that primitive and frontier bar. In 1838 he was elected a member of the Legislature of that State. Five years afterward he was appointed a judge of its Supreme Court. In 1845 he received from President Polk the appointment of commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington. When the Mexican war commenced, he was made a brigadier general of volunteers, and fought with great gallantry at Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo. It was in the latter battle that he received a dangerous wound, and was saved from death by a singular and propitious accident. A copper ball had passed through his body and lungs, the extravasated blood was gradually forming, and he was rapidly approaching the hour of death. His case had been given over as hopeless by the regular surgeons of the army, when a Mexican doctor offered to save his life if he would permit him to operate. The permission was readily granted. A fine silk handkerchief was then worked into the wound, and finally drawn through it and taken out at the back, so that daylight could be seen through the aperture. By means of the handkerchief the blood was removed, the wound afterward healed, and the patient recovered. He subsequently distinguished himself at Chapultepec, and was again wounded, though less severely than before. His services were rewarded by being made



major general of volunteers. After the termination of the war he returned to Illinois, and in 1849 was elected to represent that state in the Federal Senate, in place of Mr. Breeze. Technical objections having been raised against his admission to that body, he resigned his seat, was immediately reelected, and afterward served his full term of six years in that important assemblage. In 1855 he removed to Minnesota. He was soon elected from that State to a seat in the Federal Senate; but having drawn the short term, his period of service expired in 1859. He then emigrated to California, and there resumed the profession of the law. When the Rebellion broke forth, he was invited from that distant sphere to accept a commission in the Federal army. The offer was at first declined; but upon its renewal he accepted it, and at once journeyed to Washington. The death of General Lander provided a suitable position for him. He received the command of his brigade, being placed under the superior orders of General Banks. The battle and the victory of Winchester soon enabled him to demonstrate that he had lost nothing of that martial skill and heroic valor which had already rendered him distinguished in the annals of American warfare.

The severe losses which the Rebels had incurred in the southwest, seemed only to have rendered them more determined; and their ablest generals gradually concentrated their most efficient troops near Corinth, Tennessee. At that place General Beauregard, the hero of Bull Run, commanded, assisted by Albert Sidney Johnson, Breckinridge, and other Rebel officers of high rank. Their purpose was to intercept the victorious march of the Federal troops who had triumphed at Forts Henry and Donelson; and to prevent their intended advance toward Memphis. For some days General Grant had

been transferring his forces to Savannah, Tennessee, and thence across the river to Pittsburg Landing. It was on the fourth of April, that about thirty-five thousand of these had passed over, and had taken their position at the distance of several miles from the shore. They were awaiting the arrival of the remainder of the army under General Buell, containing about an equal number of men, who should have already been on the spot, in accordance with the plans of General Grant. While this unfortunate delay existed, and the separation of the Federal army into two bodies, which necessarily resulted from it, continued, the Rebel generals conceived the idea of making a sudden attack. Their time was admirably chosen. They executed their purpose with superior skill and fortitude; and the great but indecisive battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing was the result.

The Federal forces which had crossed the river were posted westward from Pittsburg Landing, in a curved line along the banks, and extended a distance of three and a half miles; the centre facing the road to Corinth. They were commanded by Generals Prentiss, Sherman, Hurlbut, and McClernand. As Corinth was a position admirably adapted for defense, it was not suspected that the enemy would abandon the advantages which it afforded and venture on an advance. Hence it must be admitted that their attack was in a great measure unexpected. They marched out of Corinth on Saturday, April 5th, seventy thousand in number, in three grand divisions. Sidney Johnson was in command of the centre; Braxton Bragg and Beauregard commanded the two wings; Hardee, Polk, Breckinridge, and Cheatham held inferior positions. Their plan of attack was, to assault the centre of the Federal lines, consisting of the divisions of Prentiss and McClernand, penetrate them,

and then assail each of the wings on the front and flank. Having thus divided and overpowered the Federal army, their purpose was to compel them to surrender, or drive them into the Tennessee river, and thus complete either the capture or the ruin of the whole.

During the night of Saturday their numerous forces lay at no very great distance from the Federal camp. Their proximity evidently began to be suspected; for at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 6th, Colonel Peabody, of General Prentiss's division, sent forward four hundred men beyond his lines, to ascertain whether any Rebel troops lay in that vicinity. These had scarcely proceeded half a mile when they encountered a large body of Rebels approaching them. The latter opened their fire immediately, and drove the Federals with great slaughter, back toward their camp. They followed promptly, and actually reached the position of Colonel Peabody as his regiment, aroused by the distant firing, were falling into line. The gray mists of morning were then about ascending, and throwing a partial, hazy light over the scene, so soon to become the arena of one of the bloodiest struggles of modern times. Many of the officers had not yet risen, many of the men were not yet armed, when the whole Federal camp became aware that a vigorous attack had commenced upon some portion of their line. The twenty-fifth Missouri regiment, belonging to General Prentiss's division, was the first to feel the assault of the approaching enemy, who were firing volleys of musketry as they advanced. Their cannon, already in position and unlimbered, were tossing shells into the heart of the Federal encampment. During this process the Federal army was gradually dressing, arming, and falling into line; but this was not accomplished until a decisive advantage had been gained by the enemy.

The whole of General Sherman's division was the first to confront the Rebels in line of battle. It was now six o'clock. Sherman's troops withstood the shock for some time with heroism; but being overpowered by superior numbers, were compelled to give way. As they retreated the balls of the enemy ploughed through their living masses with fearful slaughter. The divisions of Generals Sherman and Buckland abandoned their camp equipage, and some of them retreated in disgraceful disorder. Several of the Ohio regiments, especially the fifty-third, commanded by Colonel Appler, fled without firing a single gun, and covered themselves with ignominy. In vain did General McClelland order forward a portion of his left, to support the scattering and fugitive troops of Buckland. In vain did General Sherman exert himself to stop the flight of his own men, dashing bravely along the lines amid a hailstorm of bullets. The advancing billows of the Rebel host overwhelmed every thing before them; and while portions of the Federal regiments occasionally paused a few moments to stop the tide of fugitives and pursuers, the great mass rolled onward in a tumultuous chaos toward the river. Then it was that General Prentiss, having succeeded in making a stand for a time, and having been left unsupported on the field, was encompassed by the enemy. A wall of bayonets closed around his men, and after a short but desperate combat they were made prisoners. Three regiments having laid down their arms, were marched toward the rear of the enemy.

It was now ten o'clock. One whole division of the Federal army had retreated, leaving a frightful gap in the centre of their lines. Just then the division of General W. H. L. Wallace was deployed into the vacant territory; and they held their position with great resolution till



toward the end of the day. By this time General Grant arrived on the field from Savannah, and immediately placed guards in the rear to stop the retreating soldiers. The temporary flight was thus terminated, the officers became reassured, and succeeded in bringing their troops, many of whom had begun to waver, into order of battle. Then ensued a more regular, universal and desperate combat. The battle raged along the whole line; for the enemy had now all reached the scene of conflict, and every portion of both armies was brought into action. The roar of the cannon and musketry was deafening; the earth trembled under their shock. The fiercest struggle was in the centre, between the enemy and the troops who had taken General Sherman's position. A furious charge was made upon the fourteenth Ohio battery, and after a long contest it was captured by the Rebels. A similar onslaught was made upon the fifth Ohio battery, which resulted in the capture of three of its guns. The left wing of the Federal forces also encountered and resisted a ferocious assault. The Rebels, by a sudden dash, captured a part of the battery of Waterhouse, together with that of Beer. For nearly two hours a lurid sheet of fire blazed between the two columns, hurling destruction into each other's ranks. Three different times the Federals, weakened by the deadly fire of the Mississippi riflemen, were compelled slowly to retire toward the river; and three times they regained the lost advantage. Dresser's battery of rifled guns on two occasions made the enemy recoil with fearful losses.

Thus till after three o'clock the combat raged with appalling fury. The air seemed filled with sulphurous hail; the wide-spread scene of conflict was covered with a far ascending curtain of smoke, within which the rushing, advancing, receding masses of men might be

dimly seen, plunged into the mortal struggles of the conflict. At one time the fire of the enemy appeared to be concentrated toward the centre. At another it would expand and extend itself up and down the line, to right and to left. By this time the ground was covered with the wounded and the slain of both armies. Successive bayonet charges had been made at intervals during the day by both sides. Thus, repeatedly was the terrific spectacle exhibited during that long and desperate combat, of a thousand men, sometimes five thousand, summoned by the sound of the bugle, forming into line, rushing forward with fixed bayonets as if impelled by a single animating spirit, rending the air with their yells, sheets of flame darting forth from their advancing lines, then the shock of the collision, the reverberation of the blows, the clashing of steel, and at last the necessary recoil, as the one party or the other, possessing greater momentum and strength than their adversaries, remained masters of the position. Then were heard the piercing shrieks of the wounded, the melancholy groans of the dying, the vociferous shouts of the victors. All this had frequently been enacted during the long progress of that day. For the most part the superiority of numbers which the rebels possessed generally gave them the advantage. As the sun was descending the western heavens, the Federal army was gradually retiring toward the river, unable to resist with success the ponderous and infuriated masses opposed to them. By this time the enemy had full possession of the camps of Sherman, Prentiss, and McClernand. The whole front line, except Stuart's brigade, had given way. To the last the divisions of W. H. L. Wallace and Hurlbut made a heroic stand, and maintained their positions. Hurlbut had been encamped at the end of the line nearest the river. His

troops consisted chiefly of Kentucky, Indiana and Iowa regiments. Having open fields before them, they raked the approaching enemy with terrible effect. They held their position from ten in the forenoon until half past three. No officer on the field deserved greater praise for his heroism and gallantry than General Hurlbut. His example and his exertions served greatly to avert the horrors of an universal defeat, which impended over the army of the Union on that memorable day. Next in line to his brigade was that of General W. H. L. Wallace, who commanded the troops which had formerly been under the orders of General Charles Ferguson Smith, whom sickness prevented from being present in this engagement. General Wallace entered into the conflict about ten o'clock. He and his men fought with the utmost resolution till half past three. Four separate times the Rebel generals attempted to turn them by the most furious charges. Just as often their advancing masses were compelled to recoil and retreat with fearful losses. The powerful batteries from Missouri, commanded by Stone, Weber, and Richardson, were admirably served, and greatly contributed to the partial success of the day, in this portion of the field. But when the general retreat began, and the whole line commenced to retire, they were compelled to yield, for it would have been madness to remain. As the division began to fall back, General Wallace was severely wounded. His soldiers were the last to give way, at that desperate moment when the Federal line was driven back within half a mile of Pittsburg Landing, with the victorious masses of the Rebels crowding within a thousand yards of their confused and retreating ranks.

And now the last horrible tragedy of this day seemed about to be consummated. The Rebels at length occupied

all the camps of the Federal army. The latter were crowded in wild confusion around Pittsburg Landing, within the circumference of half a mile. In vain had the soldiers of the Union expended prodigies of valor, in the most desperate attempts to resist their fate. They had now fallen back as far as the nature of the ground would permit. There seemed to be no alternative but to surrender, or to perish beneath the tranquil and brightly glancing waves of the Tennessee river; for sufficient transports had not been provided to convey over even a small proportion of the multitude of the fugitives. Never had the fate of any army seemed more desperate, its ruin more inevitable. During the day General Buell had been repeatedly telegraphed to hasten his tardy legions; but he had been unable as yet to reach the scene of conflict. Certain destruction thus appeared to impend over the Union army, when a sudden deliverance unexpectedly arose. The gunboats Lexington and A. O. Tyler having opportunely arrived from Savannah, were at that moment able to bring their guns to bear upon the masses of the victorious Rebels; and having steamed up the mouth of Licking Creek, they opened a deadly fire upon their right wing. Broadside after broadside of sixty-four pounders was discharged as rapidly as the most skillful gunnery could send their shells into the serried ranks of the foe. At the same time the long wished-for advance guard of Buell's army appeared on the high bluffs which lined the opposite banks of the river. Their presence at once inspired the Federal troops, and shout after shout ascended to greet them. But no time was to be lost, and quickly several transports which had been tied along the opposite bank were loosed, and filled with artillery and troops. But before they could arrive, Colonel Webster, the chief



of General Grant's staff, had collected all the guns which remained untaken, had formed them into a semicircle bearing upon the Rebel army, and had opened a formidable assault upon their line. These combined salutes, while they raised the courage of the Federal forces, which had been fighting for so many hours, disheartened the enemy. The death of General Sidney Johnson now became known, which misfortune added to their panic. Their commanders at length discovered that their successes for that day were ended; and that no further advantage could possibly be gained. They therefore withdrew as far as the Federal camps which they had taken, and prepared to renew the contest with more decisive results, as they hoped, on the ensuing day.

The night of Sunday was industriously employed in transporting the troops of General Buell across the river. As soon as the successive regiments arrived, they proceeded to take their positions in the Federal lines. The gunboats continued their bombardment during the whole night. They soon made the position occupied by the centre and the right of the Rebels, at the close of Sunday, untenable, and compelled them to fall back from point to point, so that they evacuated more than half the ground they had gained by the retreat of the Federal army toward the river. This circumstance will account for the mysterious fact that the Rebels made no assault during the night, as had been confidently expected; and it also prevented them from commencing the battle at daybreak on Monday.

During the hours of that memorable night, while a furious tempest raged, and a deluge of rain descended, the Federal commanders were busy in making preparations for resuming the contest. New dispositions had been formed. Ammon's brigade was placed on the

extreme left, that of Bruce in the centre, that of Hazen on the right of Nelson's division. At seven o'clock on Monday the action began, by a simultaneous advance on both sides; for both sides seemed equally eager for the combat. General Lewis Wallace opened the engagement by shelling the enemy opposed to him. He was answered by a powerful Rebel battery, and a duel between artillery ensued. The result here was, that a body of Federal infantry having been sent across a ravine to attack the flank of this portion of the enemy's line, the guns of the latter were soon limbered up and hastily withdrawn. General Nelson at the same time attacked the enemy opposed to him. His large mass of troops renewed the contest in all its fury; the action soon became general along the whole line; and the rattle of small arms, and the louder, heavier tones of the artillery reverberated without intermission over the far-extending scene of conflict. The Rebels attacked the Federal centre and right with the utmost desperation. At half past ten the Federals had regained nearly all the ground from which they had been driven on the preceding day. At that moment the enemy concentrated their efforts to make a grand assault. Suddenly, and with much concert, their generals hurled their furious squadrons on the lines of the advancing Federals. Stunned by the shock, the latter reeled, and for a time gave way on the entire right. The ground there was fiercely contested, and the issue would have been doubtful, perhaps disastrous; but just at the critical moment General Buell arrived on that part of the field and assumed the command. He soon comprehended the relative positions of the combatants, and ordered a forward double-quick movement by brigades. The Rebel lines were then driven back for a quarter of a mile. Soon the deserted camps of the Federals were

reached, and repossessed by their former owners. By half past two the entire right of the enemy was routed; they had lost all in that portion of the field which they had gained; the captured guns of the Federals were retaken; and some additional trophies were wrested from the retreating enemy. In that part of the Federal lines where the brigades of Crittenden, McCook, Smith, and Boyle were posted, a contest of equal intensity took place. At one time the Federal troops were overpowered and retreated. The day was recovered by a spirited cannonade poured into the Rebel masses by the batteries Mendenhall and Bartlett. After a long contest the enemy here also began to retire, and to leave the field in the possession of their antagonists. On the extreme right, where the gallant Hurlbut and McClernand commanded, the vicissitudes of the day were equally varied, to be terminated at last by a result equally honorable to the Federal arms. Four times McClernand lost and regained the position which he occupied at the commencement of the engagement. The troops in the centre of the Federal army, commanded by General Sherman, overpowered by a terrific assault of artillery, in which Watson's Louisiana battery was remarkable for its prodigious effects, were compelled at one time to give way. But after a long struggle they recovered their advantage, aided by the efficient batteries of Thurber and Thompson. By four o'clock, an hour and a half later than the victory on the left, the enemy commenced to retire here also before Sherman's advancing lines. Then the retreat became general, and the whole Rebel army, disheartened and essentially weakened by the immense though futile struggles of the day, withdrew in comparative order toward Corinth. The Federal forces then reoccupied their original camp, and took possession of almost every

trophy which, on the preceding day, had fallen into the possession of the temporary victors.

During the progress of this memorable engagement, Generals Grant, Buell, Sherman, Nelson, the Wallaces, Hurlbut, McClernand and McCook, greatly distinguished themselves. They were present in every portion of the field, and exhibited the utmost skill and coolness in every emergency. Very many of the inferior commanders were equally valiant and equally worthy of commendation. But it must also be admitted, that some of the subaltern officers disgraced themselves during the combat by their cowardice. General Grant was compelled to order a number of these under arrest on the battle-field. The results of this great conflict were important. Their defeat greatly dispirited the Rebel leaders; while it covered the Federal arms with immortal renown. The loss of the enemy was seventeen hundred and twenty-eight killed, eight thousand and twelve wounded, nine hundred missing. Their chief misfortune was the death of Albert Sidney Johnston. The loss of the Federals was about two thousand killed, seven thousand four hundred wounded, and nearly three thousand missing.\*

The chief glory of this victory will be ascribed by posterity to the two generals who were highest in command, Generals Grant and Buell. The former we have already sketched. The latter was born in Ohio in 1820. He entered the academy at West Point in 1837, and was

\* It is impossible to state the number of killed and wounded in this battle with precise and perfect accuracy. All the accounts, even those which seem to be most reliable and authoritative, essentially differ. All that can be done with the probability of truth is, to state those numbers which seem to possess the greatest preponderance of authority in their favor; and those numbers I have given in the text.



brevetted second lieutenant of infantry in 1841. He was appointed first lieutenant in June, 1846, and in September of the same year was brevetted captain, for his gallantry at the battle of Monterey. At the battle of Cherubusco he was severely wounded in the chest. In 1848 he attained the rank of assistant adjutant general, with the full rank of captain. When the Rebellion commenced he was stationed in California; but was at once appointed a brigadier general by Congress, and ordered to take command of a division of the army of the Potomac. General Anderson having resigned the command of the Department of the Ohio, General Buell was assigned to that position. He addressed himself to the task of organizing an efficient army in his department, and in arranging some of the details of the campaign which were afterward realized. The engagements in which Humphrey Marshall was defeated by General Garfield, that of Mill Springs in which Zollicoffer fell, and other important operations in Kentucky, were planned by him. When General Halleck was placed in command of the department of the southwest, Buell was made his subordinate. At the same time he was promoted to the rank of major general. The long list of valuable services which he had rendered to the cause of the Union, was fitly crowned by his successful and skillful efforts at Pittsburg Landing; where he was instrumental in assisting to turn the tide of victory, and in wresting from the Rebel generals the laurels which were commencing, unworthily, to bloom around their brows.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE FEDERAL ARMY UNDER GENERAL MCCLELLAN APPROACH YORKTOWN—COLLISION ON HOWARD CREEK—ATTACK ON DETACHED REBEL ENTRENCHMENTS—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL CAMP, AND ERECTION OF FEDERAL BATTERIES—PREPARATIONS FOR A GREAT CONFLICT AT YORKTOWN—BRILLIANT OPERATIONS OF GENERAL MITCHELL IN ALABAMA—RESULTS OF HIS RAPID MOVEMENTS—SKETCH OF GENERAL MITCHELL—EVENTS IN GEORGIA—CAPTURE OF FORT PULASKI—STRENGTH OF THE REBEL WORKS—INCIDENTS OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF THAT FORT—RESULTS OF THE CAPTURE—THE CONQUEST OF NEW ORLEANS—FEDERAL ARMAMENT UNDER COMMODORE FARRAGUT—BOMBARDMENT OF FORTS JACKSON AND ST. PHILIP—AN ENGAGEMENT OF SIX DAYS—REDUCTION OF THESE FORTS—IMPRESSION PRODUCED BY IT IN NEW ORLEANS—THE FEDERAL FLEET APPROACH THAT CITY—THE REBEL TROOPS EVACUATE IT—THE SUMMONS TO SURRENDER—IMPERTINENCE OF MAYOR MONROE—NEW ORLEANS OCCUPIED BY FEDERAL TROOPS—SKETCH OF COMMODORE FARRAGUT—THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MACON—INCIDENTS OF THE ASSAULT—STRENGTH OF THAT FORT—RESULTS OF ITS CAPTURE BY THE FEDERAL TROOPS.

On Friday, April 4th, 1862, the army of the Potomac, which had halted temporarily at Fortress Monroe on its way toward Yorktown, resumed its march. Berdan's sharpshooters led the advance, with the fourth Michigan, the fourteenth New York, and the third Pennsylvania cavalry. The route lay through Great Bethel on the direct road toward Yorktown. At that spot, already celebrated in the annals of the nation by the decisive victory gained by Washington over Lord Cornwallis on the 19th of October, 1781, the Rebels had concentrated an efficient army, thirty thousand strong, commanded by General McGruder; had erected numerous breastworks which extended across the isthmus or peninsula which

separates the York and the James rivers; and there they seemed resolved to contest to the utmost of their ability, the further progress of the Federal forces toward their capital.

The enemy had constructed a fort as an outwork on the banks of Howard Creek, near the village of Rose-down, which necessarily became the first object of attack. Allan's fifth Massachusetts battery was detailed to this service. Fifteen rounds of shell were thrown, after which the Rebels evacuated the fort with great precipitation. It was immediately occupied by the victors, and the stars and stripes were unfurled from the flag-staff. This conquest occupied but a brief period of time, and did not prevent the van of the Federal army from reaching the vicinity of Cocklestown, six miles distant from Yorktown, during the same day. On the morrow the march was resumed. The falling rain had rendered the roads extremely difficult, and the progress of the troops and guns was comparatively slow. At length the advance reached a point not more than three miles distant from Yorktown. From this position some Rebel entrenchments were discovered to the right of the road, at the distance of a mile. General McClellan deemed it advisable not to leave these behind him to annoy his rear; he therefore ordered a number of his batteries to attack them. The guns were immediately wheeled into position in advance of the infantry by whom they were supported. A heavy bombardment was commenced, to which the guns of the enemy in the forts responded. Their shells were thrown indiscriminately over the entire area covered by the Federal army, and sometimes bursting in the vicinity of the troops, were not harmless. The firing continued without intermission during the entire day. About noon it increased in fury and vigor. Then

Morell's brigade on the left advanced within three-quarters of a mile of the entrenchments; the sharpshooters approached still nearer, and picked off with an infallible aim, the most of those who manned the Rebel guns. In vain their artillery directed their special attention to these dangerous assailants, and attempted to shell them out beyond the range of their rifles. The heavy firing terminated with the close of the day, though skirmishing was continued between the pickets of both armies during the night. A number had been killed and wounded on both sides. Griffin's battery had silenced three of the guns of the Rebels. During the next day the enemy evacuated their entrenchments on the right, and concentrated their whole force in their main works before Yorktown.

Immediately after the termination of this engagement, which was regarded merely as preliminary to the much greater and more decisive operations which were expected soon to follow, the Federal army proceeded to establish their encampment before Yorktown. General McClellan carefully reconnoitered the works of the enemy. They were found to be both extensive and formidable. The next duty therefore was, to commence the construction of counter works, preliminary to a grand and final assault upon the fortifications of the foe. The latter proceeded with equal industry to strengthen those breastworks which they had already erected, and to add to their number. At the same time immense reinforcements were ordered to join the Rebel troops already assembled at Yorktown; so that in a short time they increased to the number of sixty thousand men. Leaving the combatants here to execute their purpose, in anticipation of the occurrence of a world-renowned combat between them at that spot, which was destined never to



take place, we will proceed to narrate the events which were transpiring in other portions of the scene of conflict.

It was at this period that General Mitchell achieved one of the most brilliant and effective episodes of the war. Starting from Louisville with a few thousand men, he commenced a rapid advance southward through Alabama, expecting to encounter the enemy upon his line of march. He proceeded, however, without interruption as far as the city of Huntsville, of which he took possession. Rebel forces on the route thither, instead of confronting and resisting him, uniformly fled from him. Their only strategy consisted in burning the bridges. Having reached Huntsville, General Mitchell sent out two expeditions in the railroad cars which he had captured at that place. The one under Colonel Sill, with the thirty-third Ohio, proceeded eastward to Stevenson, where the junction of the Chattanooga, the Memphis and the Charleston railroads takes place. The other, under Colonel Tarchin, with the nineteenth Illinois, went westward, and having arrived at Decatur took charge of the railroad bridge at that place, fifteen hundred feet long, and saved it from the destruction which at that moment impended over it. The former of these expeditions was equally useful; for it captured a large number of fugitive Rebel troops, five locomotives, and an immense amount of rolling stock. The results of this enterprise were important. General Mitchell thereby obtained possession of a hundred miles of the Memphis and Charleston railroad. He intercepted the communication between the Rebel army at Corinth and the Rebel authorities in Richmond. It enabled him to threaten Corinth itself in flank and rear; and to march upon it at any moment in concert with Generals Grant and Buell. He obtained the supremacy of a hundred miles of terri-

tory in the very heart of Alabama, in the blooming centre of a magnificent cotton region; and he was able to encourage and protect the friends of the Union in that portion of the Rebel Confederacy. By this achievement the stars and stripes again waved over ten towns within the limits of Alabama, on the railroad line between Decatur and Stevenson.

.. Brigadier General O. M. Mitchell, the hero of this remarkable achievement, is known to fame both as a soldier and as a *savant*. He graduated at West Point in June, 1829, and having entered the artillery corps with the brevet rank of second lieutenant, became assistant professor of mathematics in that institution. That position he held until September, 1832, when he resigned his command with the army and engaged in civil engineering. He then studied law, and was admitted to the bar in Cincinnati in 1833. In 1834 he was appointed professor of mathematics and astronomy in the Ohio University. That position he retained during ten years. In 1845 he founded the Cincinnati Observatory, of which he became the director, and also published the "Siderial Messenger." In 1848 he held the office of adjutant general of the State of Ohio, and subsequently became chief engineer of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad. Previous to the commencement of the Rebellion he had distinguished himself as an author and lecturer on scientific subjects. Having tendered his services to the defenders of the Union in the hour of its peril, they were promptly accepted; and the successful result of his bold and skillful expedition into Alabama, testified to the high value of the abilities which he brought to the assistance of the government.\*

\* It is a singular circumstance that not a few of the most eminent Federal generals in this war had previously distinguished themselves

On the 10th of April, 1862, victory crowned the Federal arms within the limits of the ancient State of Georgia. On that day the formal siege of Fort Pulaski began, which terminated, after a vigorous cannonading, in the surrender of the works to the Federal troops.

This fort was the outpost of the defences of the city of Savannah, and was situated on the Savannah river at the narrowest part of its channel. It was a strong casemated work, mounting fifty-seven guns of heavy calibre. There was a supply of a hundred tons of powder in the magazines; and its full armament of men was five hundred. It was in shape an irregular pentagon, with the base line or curtain-face to the inland. Its other faces were casemated and bore upon the outward approaches. It stood on Cockspur Island, which is separated from Tybee Island by a narrow arm of sea. The walls were constructed of hard gray brick; were more than six feet in thickness, and were supposed to be able to resist all kinds of projectiles. It contained at the period of the attack, provisions and water for six months. It was provided with three furnaces for the purpose of heating shot. The curtain was covered by a redan, and the redan was surrounded by a ditch. Generals Viele and Gilmore had been directed by General Hunter, the Federal commander of that department, to erect a number of batteries in order to cut off the communication between the fort and the city of Savannah, and to construct others on the islands adjacent to the works, for the purpose of assailing and reducing it. The materials for executing

as authors, such as Halleck, Fremont, McClellan, Mitchell. The chief productions of the last were his "Planetary and Stellar Worlds," his "Popular Astronomy," and his "Astronomy of the Bible," all of which indicate profound scientific attainments and brilliant genius.

this order were procured at Port Royal; and consisted of a detachment of the third Rhode Island artillery, another detachment of volunteer engineers, a battalion of the eighth Maine regiment, the sixth Connecticut regiment, the forty-eighth New York, together with a full supply of heavy artillery and entrenching tools. By a reconnoissance which was made by Lieutenant J. A. Wilson, of the Topographical Engineers, it was ascertained that the Rebels had sunk the hulk of a brig in an artificial channel named Wall's Cut, connecting Wright river, one of the outlets of the Savannah, with Bull river, which served as a thoroughfare Between Port Royal and Savannah. It was of essential importance that this obstacle should be removed. The task was committed to Major Beard of the forty-eighth New York. After three weeks of unremitting labor during the night, by the use of ingenious mechanical contrivances, the work was accomplished. The expedition against Fort Pulaski then commenced to move; and proceeding to the north end of Daufuskie Island, they established a camp and depot, and commenced operations. Reconnoissances were immediately made for the selection of the most suitable positions for the erection of batteries. These having been duly ascertained, twelve batteries were successively constructed. Great difficulties attended and impeded the work. Rebel gunboats continually sailed up and down the Savannah river; and to have attempted to float the Federal cannon across in flatboats, would have exposed them to certain capture. It became necessary to drag them by night over Jones's Island on shifting tramways. The first of the batteries was thus placed in position during the night of the 11th of February. Three days afterward another battery was transported. Thus, on Venus Point, on Long Island, on Turtle Island, on Jones's,



Bird's and Tybee Islands, the batteries were eventually put into position, and breastworks were constructed which commanded the guns of Fort Pulaski.

On the 10th of April all was ready, and the bombardment began at seven o'clock, after a flag of truce had been sent, demanding in vain the surrender of the fort. The batteries of Tybee Island commenced the assault. In a short time the Rebel flag-staff was cut in two, and the Rebel colors fell. But soon another staff was extemporised, and another standard unfurled from the parapet. The bombardment was continued without intermission through the whole day. The enemy responded promptly and vigorously; but their shots produced much less execution than the shots of the Federal batteries. The Rebels seem to have been ignorant of the positions of the Federal works, because their fire invariably followed the successive openings of the different batteries. Their shells generally fell wide of the mark; but the aim of the Federal gunners was accurate. Accordingly, during the entire day the brick and mortar of the fort could be seen flying in all directions, and the Rebels were compelled to retire from one portion of their works to another. The number of Federal guns was thirty-six.

At the end of the first day, the fire on both sides ceased. During the night a number of guns were transferred to Goat's Island, being the point nearest the fort. On the morning of the 11th, two small breaches could be discovered in the southeast face of the fort, which gradually assumed more enlarged proportions. The shells of the Federal batteries were gradually working their way toward the magazines. It was evident also that a number of the Rebel guns had become disabled. One of the breaches soon became fifteen feet wide, the other ten. The falling *debris* from the walls filled the moat, and a

storming party could easily have passed over. From twelve different points of the compass the deluge of shot and shell poured into the doomed fort, scattering destruction and ruin around. At length, at eighteen minutes past two, on the 11th, a white flag appeared on the parapet of Pulaski. General Gilmore immediately sent a boat to the fort to demand its unconditional surrender. The commandant replied that, as the magazines were now exposed to the shot of the Federals, and might at any moment explode, it was madness to continue the defense. He had therefore concluded to surrender. The same day the seventh Connecticut regiment was sent to take possession of the captured works, which, together with all the guns, ammunition, and provisions of the enemy, fell into the hands of the victors. Their sum total was forty-seven guns, seven thousand shot and shells, forty thousand pounds of powder, together with three hundred and sixty prisoners. The latter belonged to the first Georgia regiment of volunteers, commanded by Colonel Charles H. Olmstead. The captive officers and prisoners were afterward sent in the steamer *Benjamin Deford* to the city of New York. This important success restored to the Federal Government another of the fortresses which had been treacherously stolen from it by the Rebel authorities. It prepared the way for the future reduction of the city of Savannah. Fort Jackson indeed intervened between it and the Federal troops; but being inferior in size and in armament to Pulaski, it could offer no serious obstacle to the triumphant advance, at the proper moment, of the forces of the Union.

In March, 1862, a powerful Federal fleet, consisting of forty-six sail, carrying two hundred and eighty-six guns, and twenty-one mortars, was placed under the command of Flag Officer D. S. Farragut, for the attack and conquest

of New Orleans. Preliminary to the bombardment of the formidable forts which guarded the Crescent City, a reconnoissance was made on the 28th of that month by Captain Bell, under the orders of the commodore. He took the gunboats Kennebec and Wissahickon, and proceeded up the Mississippi. Having arrived in the vicinity of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, below New Orleans, sketches were taken of their construction, and other important information was obtained. During this process, both forts continued to throw their shells in the vicinity of the unwelcome and inquisitive visitors, but fortunately without any serious result. It was ascertained that a strong chain had been thrown across the river, which was supported by eight dismantled vessels and a large raft; that both of the forts were well armed and fully garrisoned; that fire rafts had been prepared to drift toward the bombarding vessels to destroy them; and that every other expedient had been adopted to accomplish a desperate and protracted defense.

On the 4th of April a portion of the Federal fleet pursued a number of Rebel vessels which approached their position in the river. The Kimeo closed with a steamer carrying a blue flag, which seemed to indicate that the Rebel commander was on board. A chase ensued up the stream, until the appearance in the distance of a much larger number of Rebel vessels, including the formidable ram Manassas, rendered it expedient for the Federal vessels to return to their anchorage. Preparations were then made to attack the forts with the full power of the fleet; and having silenced them, to advance to the subjugation of the Crescent City which they defended. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, twenty-one mortar boats and three gunboats, having approached within range of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, commenced

a vigorous bombardment. The enemy in the fortifications replied with spirit; but on the 26th their fire ceased, and they were silenced, after an engagement of six days. Immediately afterward fourteen war steamers sailed past the now harmless batteries, on their way toward New Orleans. The chain which had been thrown across the river was wrenched in twain by the vigorous blows of two gunboats. One of the fire-ships which the enemy had sent adrift, unfortunately came in contact with the flag ship Hartford, which was ignited; but the conflagration was extinguished before any serious damage was done. Other casualties were more important. In an engagement which took place between the Union steam sloop Verona, of ten guns, and the Rebel steam Webster, the latter ran into the Verona and injured her so severely that she was soon in a sinking condition. But while in this state she discharged a full broadside into her antagonist, with such effect that she too began to sink, and both vessels went down together. The Union gunboat Carlton was also sunk by the shot of the forts. On the other side, the Federal forces destroyed eleven Rebel gunboats, and the floating battering ram Manassas.

The engagement between the fleet and the forts was not only a protracted, but also a desperate one. Some of the Federal soldiers fell dead from mere exhaustion at their guns. The names of these obscure heroes have indeed passed into oblivion; but they deserved a renown equal to that which clusters around the exploits of their more famous and fortunate commanders. On the 27th of April, a flag of truce was sent to Commodore Porter, who commanded the mortar fleet, inquiring what terms of surrender would be accepted. The answer was, as usual with the Federal victors during this war, that no terms except an unconditional and an immediate surrender



would be entertained. On the 28th, after some delay, the transfer of the two forts, with all their guns, ammunition, and stores, was made to the conquerors. Immediately afterward General Butler, who commanded the land forces of the expedition, placed a competent garrison of Federal troops in the several fortifications. The loss on the Union side was thirty-six killed, one hundred and twenty-three wounded. The number of prisoners taken was four hundred. The Rebels who were killed and wounded numbered about five hundred.

Having reduced Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the Union fleet resumed its triumphant progress up the Mississippi, and passed them at four o'clock on the 28th. The news of the fall of the two powerful bulwarks which had intercepted the advance of the Federal arms, reached New Orleans with great celerity, and threw the inhabitants of that city into paroxysms of terror. All business was instantly suspended, and martial law was proclaimed. The cotton which was accumulated upon the wharves, to the value of about eight millions of dollars, was destroyed by the orders of the municipal authorities. The anticipations of the inhabitants in reference to the speedy appearance of the Federal fleet before the city were not disappointed. On the 29th, the formidable apparition of twenty-one mortar vessels, commanded by Commodore David D. Porter, together with eight war steamers, hove in sight, and rapidly approached the dismayed capital. So paralyzed were the enemy at the approach of this flotilla, that not the slightest attempt at resistance was made. General Mansfield Lovell, who was in command of the Rebel troops stationed in the city, immediately evacuated it, with all his forces, and hastily removed them to camp Moore, situated on the Jackson railroad. When, therefore, Commodore Farragut sent his peremptory summons to

surrender, the only authorities who remained to whom it could be addressed, were the municipal officers of the city. It was to Mayor Monroe that the demand for an immediate capitulation was made. That personage responded to the Federal commander in a letter characterized by a singular mixture of folly and impudence, in which he set forth that the Federal forces possessed the power to take the city by brute force, and they might do it; but that he never would voluntarily make the transfer. Without waiting for further negotiation, Commodore Farragut dispatched a number of troops from the fleet, which took possession of the city, occupied the Federal buildings, and displayed the stars and stripes from the positions which had so long been disgraced by the Rebel colors. General Butler's land forces having disembarked on the shore of Lake Ponchartrain, were posted a few miles from the city, and a small portion of them in the city itself; while the Federal fleet rode at anchor in the port, to overawe the inhabitants, and retain them in quiet, and to some extent unwilling obedience to the legitimate authority which had thus resumed its beneficent sway over them.

The chief hero of the capture of New Orleans, and of the reduction of its protecting forts, Commodore David G. Farragut, was born in Tennessee in 1797. He entered the navy as a midshipman in December, 1810. He then served under Commodore David Porter, and was the first to board the *Essex*. He afterward accompanied that gallant officer in his expedition around Cape Horn in 1813. He passed the ten succeeding years in various cruises, and on the 13th of January, 1825, was commissioned a lieutenant. In 1851 he was ordered to serve as assistant inspector of ordnance, being second in command under Commodore Skinner. When a new navy

yard was constructed on Mare's Island, near San Francisco, he was placed in command of that post, though then standing the nineteenth on the list. In 1858 he was promoted to the command of the steam sloop of war Brooklyn, which formed a part of the home squadron under Flag Officer McCluney. He retained that position until the expedition destined for the capture of New Orleans was determined on, when he was chosen from among a host of brave and skillful men as its flag officer, to lead it to victory. The eminent success with which he fulfilled his important mission, proved the wisdom and prudence of the selection.

Almost cotemporaneous with this important conquest, the value of which could scarcely be overrated, another brilliant triumph graced the Federal arms in a different direction. After a vigorous bombardment of ten hours, Fort Macon, situated on the coast of North Carolina, near Beaufort and Newbern, surrendered to the assailants. On the 25th of March, General Burnside, having completed his arrangements for the attack and conquest of this fort, ordered General Parke to occupy Moorehead city, and the railroad between that place and Newbern, with the division under his command. The order was obeyed, and a few days afterward Bogue Island, opposite Carolina city, was also taken possession of. The latter position was most favorable for the commencement of operations against Fort Macon, and a camp was there established. On the 11th of April active operations began; the fifth Rhode Island regiment drove in the Rebel pickets, and Captain Williamson proceeded to select positions for the besieging batteries. These having been chosen with great skill, the troops were set to work to construct the entrenchments. The enemy, having discovered the unwelcome activity of the Federal forces,

continually annoyed them with their artillery. But as the precise position of the latter was somewhat screened from view, the execution produced by their salutes was unimportant. The troops employed in this service were the fourth and fifth Rhode Island and the eighth Connecticut regiments. By the 24th of April, all the batteries were completed, and on the same day General Burnside arrived at the scene of conflict from Newbern. He brought with him two barges, the Grenade and Shrapnel, which had been fitted up as a floating battery, and had been armed with several thirty pound Parrot guns. These were placed at anchor about three miles from the fort. Before commencing the bombardment General Burnside sent a flag of truce to the enemy, with a final demand of surrender. On the next morning, the 25th, that demand was refused.

On the 26th, after having given the Rebels a few hours to reconsider their answer, without a favorable result, the Federal batteries opened their fire. These consisted of three breastworks, situated within a mile of the fort, on Bogue beach. One of them mounted three thirty pound Parrot guns, and was commanded by Captain Morris, of the first United States artillery. The second was posted two hundred yards distant, containing four ten inch mortar batteries, commanded by Lieutenant Flagler, chief of ordnance on General Burnside's staff. The third mounted four eight inch mortar guns, was situated to the right of the first named battery, and was commanded by Lieutenant Prouty. The bombardment began at six o'clock on the morning of the 26th, and continued without intermission during the day. At first the larger guns failed to obtain the proper range of the fort, and their shells fell beyond the mark. Soon, however, this error was corrected; the signal corps of Lieutenants Andrews



and Wait, who were posted at Beaufort, having discovered the defect, and signaled to the batteries to lower their aim. Then the effect of the guns was decisive. Three or four shells would be seen exploding at the same moment within the fort, or upon the parapets. At the same time the gunboats which accompanied the expedition assisted in the work. Four of these bore up bravely toward the fort, and added their destructive salutes to those of the land batteries. During this interval the Rebel garrison were not inactive. They replied with energy, and with no inconsiderable skill. A sixty-four pound ball struck the gunboat Daylight on her star-board quarter, passed through the engine room, the officers' mess room, the captain's state room, and at length lodged in the side of the vessel. A portion of the rigging of the Gemsbok was shot away; and other minor casualties occurred. So terrible was the bombardment on both sides, that the buildings in Beaufort and Moorhead city were shaken in a perceptible degree; and the reverberation of the guns was heard for many miles around.

But in spite of their valiant resistance, it soon began to be evident that the strength and energy of the Rebel garrison were diminishing. Some of their guns had been dismounted. Before twelve o'clock they were driven entirely from the external battery, on the terrace on the outside of the walls, and were compelled to retire to their barbette guns. From this period their firing diminished in rapidity. They were evidently becoming exhausted; while the efforts of the besiegers constantly increased in vigor and determination. The shot and shell of the latter could be seen dashing through the broken walls of the fort, and exploding within and around it. At twenty-minutes past four o'clock a flag of truce waved

from the battlements, and the firing ceased on both sides. General Parke was sent for, for the purpose of holding an interview with Colonel White, the commandant of Fort Macon; between whom an armistice was agreed upon until the next day. Then the surrender of the fort and garrison was formally made to General Burnside. Twelve hundred shot and shell had been discharged by the three Federal batteries during the siege. Fifteen of the Rebel guns had been disabled. Their loss was seven killed and eighteen wounded; the Federal loss was one killed and two wounded. The fort had mounted forty-eight guns of various sizes. By the terms of the capitulation it was agreed that the fort, the armament, and the garrison should be surrendered to the United States; that the officers and men should be released on their parole of honor not again to take up arms against the United States, until regularly exchanged; and that they should carry with them their private effects, their arms excepted. The fort was then garrisoned by a detachment of Federal troops, the stars and stripes were unfurled to the breeze, and another conquest over the forces of the Rebel States was added to the triumphs of the defenders of the Union.







## CHAPTER XXI.

OPERATIONS OF GENERAL MCCLELLAN AT YORKTOWN—BATTLE OF LEE'S MILL—DISASTER AND RETREAT OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS—EVACUATION OF YORKTOWN BY THE REBELS—MOTIVES OF THAT MOVEMENT—PURSUIT BY THE FEDERALS—ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN CAVALRY NEAR WILLIAMSBURG—SECOND CONFLICT NEAR WILLIAMSBURG—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE—GENERAL HOOKER'S DIVISION—BRILLIANT CHARGE OF GENERAL HANCOCK—FEDERAL VICTORY—SKETCH OF GENERAL HANCOCK—BATTLE AT WEST POINT—INCIDENTS OF THE CONTEST—EFFICIENCY OF THE FEDERAL ARTILLERY—ROUT OF THE REBELS—BOMBARDMENT OF SEWALL'S POINT—ITS RESULTS—EXPEDITION OF GENERAL WOOL AGAINST NORFOLK—ITS SURRENDER—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL FREMONT IN THE MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT—MCDOWELL'S DIVISION AT FREDERICKSBURG—ROUT OF COLONEL MORGAN IN TENNESSEE—INCIDENTS OF THE CHASE—BOMBARDMENT OF FORT WRIGHT COMMENCED—ENGAGEMENT OF THE FEDERAL GUNBOATS AT FORT DARLING ON JAMES RIVER—ITS INCIDENTS AND RESULTS—STEADY ADVANCE OF MCCLELLAN'S ARMY TOWARD RICHMOND—IT CROSSES THE CHICKAHOMINY—VARIOUS SKIRMISHES—DECISIVE ENGAGEMENT ANTICIPATED—GENERAL HUNTER'S ABOLITION PROCLAMATION—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S POLICY RESPECTING IT.

WHILE General Banks was driving the Rebel forces under Jackson through the valley of the Shenandoah toward Woodstock and Harrisonburg, General McDowell, with another corps of the divided army of the Potomac, was approaching Fredericksburg, which lay on a different route to Richmond. Contemporaneous with these movements, and in concert with them, important operations were progressing under McClellan at Yorktown. The fortifications which the Rebels had constructed to defend that place were extensive and strong; and it became the employment of the Federal army during some days to

erect opposing works, which, by their superior formation and their greater strength, would command them. This laborious task had been progressing with vigor under the direction of General McClellan; the most skillful engineering had already produced the most formidable results; when, on the 16th of April, 1862, a collision took place between portions of the hostile armies. The Rebels had erected a fort at Lee's Mill, about eight miles south of Yorktown, on the Warwick river, which they had manned with a number of guns. The special purpose of this fort was to protect the road leading to this mill, which passed a few hundred yards in front of it. In advance of this fort there was a bog several hundred feet wide, and above the bog, a large dam. It was necessary to reduce this fort, and to expel the Rebels from its possession. Accordingly, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 16th, Captain Mott placed his battery within range, and commenced the bombardment. The Rebels responded with spirit. The engagement continued for an hour. During its progress three of the guns of the enemy were silenced. They then ceased to fire, and evacuated the fort. The Federal sharpshooters were immediately sent forward to reconnoitre, and to ascertain what had become of the garrison. They had wholly withdrawn from the field; and all remained quiet until about four o'clock. At that time a body of Rebel troops appeared in possession of another breastwork at some distance, on which they had mounted several guns. Again Mott's battery was brought to bear upon them, and the firing during half an hour was continuous. Soon the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Vermont regiments were ordered to advance against the Rebels, who were seen to be occupying the woods adjacent to the fort in large numbers. The Green Mountain boys rushed forward

bravely to the charge, wading through a bog several hundred feet wide, sometimes to their knees, sometimes to their waists in mud and water. Having passed this obstruction without flinching, they advanced and suddenly encountered a line of concealed rifle-pits. They fired into these, and their occupants quickly fled. They then advanced again, and met another line of these concealed and deadly man-traps. The Vermonters sent a second volley among their occupants; while Mott's battery, which had also reached the scene of action, delivered a number of shell and canister among them with immense effect.

But at this stage of the action the retreating Rebels were reinforced by numerous accessions; and the Federal troops receiving no assistance, were compelled to fall back. During their advance the enemy had opened the dam, and had flooded the bog, by which means it had become covered with several additional feet of water. A number of the wounded in passing through it, sank exhausted in the mud, and were strangled to death. Others, while slowly retreating, were shot by the pursuing Rebels, fell and expired in the swampy waste. In vain seven companies of the sixth Vermont turned heroically on the foe, and made every effort to cover the retreat of their comrades. Overwhelming numbers gave the enemy a resistless advantage. At length all except the wounded and the dying reached a position of safety, and the battle ended. The Federal loss in this disaster was forty-four killed, one hundred wounded and missing. The loss of the Rebels is unknown; although appearances indicated that they paid dearly for their temporary and inconsiderable victory.

Meanwhile preparations for the general assault of Yorktown proceeded with energy. To the astonishment,

however, of the Federal troops and eventually of the whole nation, the vast army which the Rebels had assembled at that place, suddenly evacuated all their works before daylight on the 4th of May, 1862, and commenced their line of retreat toward Richmond. During the preceding night they had kept up a heavy firing till after midnight; at that time it suddenly ceased; they then commenced to dismount their guns, and prepared to retire. The first intimation which the Federal commanders received of the retreat of the enemy, was when the Federal pickets reconnoitered their position on the morning of the 4th; and cautiously advancing, found the entrenchments entirely deserted. The news spread with rapidity along the whole Federal line. The regimental bands commenced to play, filling the air with sweet exultant melodies. General McClellan issued an order to prepare to follow the enemy instantly, each man provided with two days' rations. About eight o'clock on the morning of the 4th all was ready, and the pursuit began toward Williamsburg, on the heels of the flying Rebels. The first and sixth cavalry, with four batteries of artillery, led the advance under the orders of General Stoneman.

The evacuation of Yorktown by the Rebel army was one of the most important and singular events of the war. It had evidently been the original intention of the Rebel chiefs, to defend that position to the last extremity; and they had assembled there for that purpose sixty or seventy thousand men, commanded by Generals Johnston, Lee, and McGruder. It is a probable conjecture that the most potent consideration which induced them to withdraw from a position which they had so carefully fortified, was that they might encounter the Federal army at a safe distance from the Federal gunboats on the



York river. The painful lesson taught them at Pittsburg Landing had not been forgotten. It is also probable that they hoped by a single decisive victory nearer to the Rebel capital, to break the strength of the Federal army in the Peninsula. The trophies which they left behind them at Yorktown were not inconsiderable, consisting of seventy-one cannon of various *calibre*, with their carriages and implements complete, and several magazines. Without stopping in the deserted works, the Federal army pressed forward, through a desolated country, in the wake of the retreating Rebels. About two miles from Williamsburg the Federal advance under General Stoneman, encountered their rear guard, on the afternoon of the 4th of May; and a vigorous engagement ensued. Just as the Federal advance, emerging from the woods, obtained the first glimpse of Williamsburg, they also saw the Rebel rear guard. A regiment of cavalry was seen approaching in line of battle about a mile distant. Captain Gibson's battery was immediately ordered to the front, to open upon them as they advanced. At the same time a portion of the sixth United States cavalry were deployed as skirmishers to the right and left. Notwithstanding the havoc produced by the battery on the Confederate squadrons, they continued steadily to advance. As they did so, a fire was opened on the Federals from an earthwork to the right, which had seemed to be deserted. At that crisis portions of the first and sixth cavalry were ordered to charge upon the Rebel horse. The order was executed in an admirable manner. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued, during which the enemy broke and fled. The pursuit was not continued for any distance on account of the absence of the infantry. After the close of the action, the Rebel troops continued their line of retreat toward

Williamsburg. General Hancock's brigade arrived at the scene of conflict soon afterward; but further operations were postponed for the present. The Federal loss in this engagement was two killed and twenty wounded.

But a conflict of much greater importance and extent impended at Williamsburg. The Rebels had determined not to permit the Federal troops to occupy that place without a struggle. Accordingly, on the morning of Monday, May 5th, as General Hooker's division approached the breastworks which the enemy had erected in the vicinity of the town, their guns opened upon the Federal troops with great fury. The approach to these works lay through a series of ravines and swamps, which rendered the operations of the Union forces extremely difficult. The Rebel batteries were supported by a very numerous body of troops commanded by General Joseph E. Johnson. Nevertheless, their assailants marched forward to the combat with an admirable spirit, which gave the assurance of ultimate success.

The battle began at seven o'clock in the morning, when three brigades of the enemy assailed a portion of the division of General Hooker. General Grover's brigade was the first which encountered them. It consisted of the first and eleventh Massachusetts, the second New Hampshire, the twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, with a regular battery. The remainder of General Hooker's division acted as a reserve. The contest continued during the entire day, and was marked by various and often painful vicissitudes. At one time the ammunition of the Federal troops became exhausted, and the enemy had nearly gained possession of their batteries before a fresh supply could be brought forward. At that crisis the Rebels succeeded in spiking several of the Federal guns, though these were afterward retaken. The most

important and decisive operation of the day was a brilliant and skillful movement of General Hancock, by which he succeeded in turning the left of the line of the enemy. From that moment the resistance of the Rebels became less vigorous, and their ultimate defeat inevitable. Toward the close of the day the division of General Kearney reached the scene of conflict, and joined in the engagement. During its progress Generals Heintzelman, Hooker, and Frank Patterson had their horses shot under them. The Rebels fought on this occasion with a great preponderance of numbers and advantage of position, over the Federals; but the nature of the ground was such as to render it impossible for a larger body of the latter to be brought into the action. The operations of Hancock's brigade, which decided the fortunes of the day, were specially worthy of admiration. The furious bayonet charges which they made on the enemy proved resistless. The havoc in their lines became terrible; they at length broke and retired in a general and tumultuous retreat. They left nearly seven hundred of their dead upon the field. The Federal troops then pressed on, and occupied their deserted position. The loss of the Union forces was three hundred killed and six hundred wounded. When darkness spread over the sanguinary scene, the routed foe was hastening forward toward the banks of the Chickahominy, and the exultant victors in that hard contest were resting from the toils and achievements of the day.

The chief hero of this engagement was General Winfield Scott Hancock. This gallant officer was born in Pennsylvania in 1823. He entered West Point in 1840, and graduated in that institution in June, 1844. Among his classmates was Simon Bolivar Buckner, the Rebel general who held a command and was captured at Fort

Donelson. Hancock at once received the rank of brevet second lieutenant in the fourth United States infantry; and in June, 1846, he obtained his commission as full second lieutenant in the same regiment. He served with honor during the Mexican war, and distinguished himself at the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco. For his meritorious conduct on those occasions he was brevetted first lieutenant, his brevet bearing date August 20th, 1847. Subsequently he became regimental quartermaster and adjutant of the sixth United States infantry. The ranks of full first lieutenant and of captain were bestowed upon him in 1853 and 1855. The Rebellion, at its birth, found him an assistant in the quartermaster general's department. He was then appointed a brigadier general of volunteers, and served in the army of the Potomac under McClellan, from the period of the elevation of that officer to its chief command. The brilliant victory of Williamsburg afterward placed him among the prominent heroes of the war.

Almost cotemporaneous with the engagement at Williamsburg, was the attack and defeat of the Rebels at West Point on the York river. On the afternoon of the 6th of May, that portion of the army of the Potomac which was under the command of General Franklin arrived at West Point in transports, for the purpose of disembarking and forming a junction with the troops under General McClellan. During that day about twenty thousand men were transferred to the shore, on the south side of the Pamunkey river, at the distance of half a mile from the town. The troops immediately pitched their tents and formed their camp. During the ensuing night some of the Rebel pickets attacked the Federal videttes; which event gave evidence, or at least created a suspicion, that the enemy were posted somewhere in the



vicinity. General Franklin, expecting an assault the next morning, ordered the troops to be under arms at break of day; but after standing in line of battle for some time and no foe appearing, the men were permitted to return to their camp. Soon, however, several regiments of Rebels appeared in the distance, toward the west side of the river. Orders were then given to the sixteenth, the thirty-first, and the thirty-second New York, the ninety-fifth and the ninety-sixth Pennsylvania regiments, to form and to advance against the foe. It soon appeared that the latter were posted and concealed in large numbers in the woods in front; and from every portion of the shady and tangled retreat of the enemy, a destructive fire of musketry was now discharged upon the approaching Federals. The fifth Maine regiment led the advance upon the left, into the woods, with superior steadiness and gallantry; the thirty-second New York achieved the same service upon the right. During three hours the engagement continued with great spirit. It became evident, however, at length that the larger numbers of the Rebels were giving them the advantage; when the Federal cannon were opportunely brought to bear upon them. These soon effectually retrieved the fortunes of the day. The second United States artillery, under Captain Arnold, was ordered forward into position on the right; the first Massachusetts battery, under Captain Porter, advanced and unlimbered on the left, and both commenced to shell the enemy. They discharged about ten shells per minute, which, bursting among the serried and partially concealed ranks of the foe, scattered death on every side. The Rebels then transferred their troops further to the left of the Federal lines; when the gunboats on the river, which were thus brought within range, unexpectedly opened their bat-

teries upon them with still more deadly results. Soon the enemy fled in confusion, totally broken and routed. The salutes of the artillery from these several directions were insupportable, and quickly terminated the engagement. In the battle of West Point the Federal loss was about twenty killed and eighty wounded. That of the enemy is unknown, but it was probably much greater.

After the conclusion of the engagement, General Franklin immediately sent a dispatch to General McClellan, informing him of the progress of events on the York river, and concerting measures with him for the union of their forces. This result was afterward successfully accomplished, and their united army then steadily advanced toward Richmond.

On the 8th of May a squadron of Federal war steamers consisting of the Monitor, Naugatuck, Susquehanna, Dacotah, Seminole, the Stevens and San Jacinto, was placed by Commodore Goldsborough under the orders of Captain Lardner, for the purpose of bombarding the Rebel forts at Sewall's Point. The design of this attack was to ascertain the possibility of landing a body of troops in that vicinity, as well as to reduce the forts. The orders given were, that the wooden vessels should attack the Rebel works in *enfilade*, and that the iron Monitor, together with the Stevens, should advance nearer and operate against them in front. Accordingly, the vessels already named sailed toward Sewall's point, and having arrived within range opened their batteries with shot and shell against the enemy. The position of the Monitor was in advance of the other vessels. The bombardment commenced about noon. For half an hour no response was made from the Rebel works; a number of shots were then fired at the Federal vessels, not one of which reached its aim. At half-past two the Merrimac steamed

out from Norfolk, with the apparent intention of attacking the Monitor. But no such result followed. During the day all the Federal vessels took part in the bombardment, either of Sewall's Point or of Craney Island. As often as the Monitor advanced to engage the Merrimac, she steamed away toward Norfolk. It was thus impossible to bring her within range or to engage her. During the day the flag-staff at Sewall's Point was twice shot away; and the Rebels could be distinctly seen from the Federal vessels, carrying off their dead and wounded. At five o'clock Commodore Goldsborough signalled to the Union ships to return to Fortress Monroe. The chief purpose of the demonstration had been accomplished. It had elicited the fact that the number of guns in the principal fort at Sewall's Point had been reduced to seventeen, and that the garrison stationed there was so small as to be quite unimportant. During the action, the barracks attached to the fort had been set on fire; and were considerably damaged. All the Rebel guns on Craney Island were silenced. So accurate was the firing from the Seminole and other vessels, that the breast-works were in some places levelled with the ground, and the sand and earth were seen flying in fragments over the tree tops in the rear. On the 9th of May the Rebels evacuated the forts at Sewall's Point, and retired to Norfolk, as the ultimate result of the assault of the Federal fleet.

Their abode in Norfolk was destined to be of short duration. On the 10th of May General Wool commenced his march from Fortress Monroe to operate against that city. He landed five thousand troops at Willoughby Point, and by five o'clock in the afternoon the Federal forces had reached the vicinity of Norfolk. A desperate defense was anticipated from General Huger, who com-

manded the rebel troops in that city. This expectation was agreeably disappointed. Early on the 10th he evacuated the place, after having set on fire and blown up the famous battering ram Merrimac, that it might not fall into the hands of the victors. As General Wool approached Norfolk he was met by a deputation of citizens headed by the Mayor, who formally surrendered the city and the navy yard to the Federal authorities. General Viele was placed in command as military governor, and orders were given for the protection of persons and property. General Wool, who had been accompanied by Secretary Chase, returned to Fortress Monroe during the following night. The possession of Norfolk necessitated that also of Portsmouth, which was likewise returned to its legitimate masters.

The recovery of these places, which had been seized and so long occupied by the forces of the Rebel government, was an important event in the progress of the war. Thus from day to day the Rebellion was curtailed of its monstrous and hideous proportions, and thus the triumphs of the arms of the Union were enlarged and extended.

While these events were taking place in the vicinity of Hampton Roads, events of minor interest were occurring in other portions of the country. General Fremont, who was in command of the Mountain Department, occupied no sinecure; although his proceedings, from the nature of the case, glared less obtrusively upon the attention of the general public. The men under his command were required to engage the enemy from time to time in a novel kind of warfare, not inappropriately termed Guerilla fighting. Roving bands of Rebels infested the rugged region over which his jurisdiction extended, who often attacked his men by stealth, and rendered their operations difficult and dangerous. On



the 8th of May General Milroy was assailed near Petersburg by a portion of the Rebel troops under "Stonewall" Jackson. During the action General Schenck fortunately reached the scene of conflict with his command, after a forced march of thirty-four miles, and the enemy were routed. The Federal loss was five killed and seventy wounded. About the same period General Kelly encountered the Rebels at Spencer, and after a spirited contest, in which a number of the enemy were killed and wounded, compelled them to retreat, and to disperse among the mountains. In Alabama the triumph of the Union arms, under the guidance of General Mitchell, continued with undiminished *eclat*. On the 13th of May he dispatched General Negley, supported by Colonel Little's troops, from Pulaski to Rogersville, in northern Alabama, for the purpose of driving the enemy across the Tennessee river and destroying their ferry boats. The Rebels fled at the approach of the Federal troops; the latter obtained possession of the bridge across Shad Creek, and of the ferry below the mouth of that stream. The result of these operations was, that more than a thousand Rebel cavalry were enclosed on one side of the river, were cut off from all possibility of escape, and were so hemmed in as soon to fall inevitably into the power of the forces under General Mitchell.

The triumphant progress of the Federal arms at this period was illustrated with striking effect by a proclamation which was issued by President Lincoln, in which he ordered the opening of the chief Southern ports, which, since the commencement of the Rebellion, had been sealed to the commerce and intercourse of the world, by the presence and agency of the Union war-steamers. On the 12th of May the ports of Beaufort, Port Royal, and

New Orleans were thus thrown open, as an evidence of the reinstated supremacy of the Federal Government in those recent centres of Rebel power and treason.

The important division of troops which was commanded by General McDowell, continued to advance, by steady marches, due south from Manassas, toward Richmond; and having at length reached Fredericksburg, permanently occupied it. On the 11th of May a skirmish took place between a small number of his cavalry, who were scouting at the distance of four miles from the town, and a body of Rebels who were stationed and concealed in the woods. General Patrick, being informed that these men were attacked by a superior force of the enemy, ordered his brigade to advance at a double quick pace to the scene of conflict. The arrival of this reinforcement was opportune; the Rebels then fled without offering any further resistance, losing eleven of their infantry and three of their cavalry as prisoners.

Among minor engagements of the class to which we are now referring, none were more spirited, or exhibited the bravery of the Union troops to better advantage, than the battle between cavalry which took place at Lebanon, Tennessee, on the 7th of May. The Rebel Colonel Morgan had become notorious in that region of the country, as the commander of a desperate band of mounted rangers and brigands, by whose means he had committed many depredations on the property of loyal citizens, and on the baggage and provision trains of the Union forces. General Dumont at Nashville, and Colonel Duffield at Murfreesboro, were ordered to combine their troops and attack him. The crafty Rebel attempted in various ways, and by numerous artifices, to elude the search of the Federal commanders; and a protracted hunt took place before they found him. At length he

entrenched himself in the town of Lebanon, with eight hundred cavalry; and there he was attacked by them. A desperate street fight ensued. Morgan and his men were driven from the town. A running battle then commenced, which continued for nearly twenty miles. A hundred and sixty Rebel prisoners were taken. Many were killed and wounded during the pursuit. At last Morgan, his band being reduced to only fifteen men, succeeded in crossing the Cumberland river on a flat boat. Not till then did the chase terminate. A more complete and thorough rout had not taken place since the commencement of the Rebellion.

During the occurrence of these events a great naval assault had been progressing against Fort Wright, on the Mississippi river, in Tennessee. A large number of Federal gunboats, under the orders of the gallant Flag Officer Foote, had been directed to attack that fortress. He was assisted in the command by Captain C. H. Davis, of the United States Navy. The bombardment had been progressing with various incidents and vicissitudes from the 8th of May. The Rebel works were protected by a formidable force of gunboats and battering rams, commanded by Commodore Hollins, which attacked the Federal vessels with marvelous ferocity and frequency. It was not until a later period, and after a very protracted bombardment, that the contest was ended by the complete evacuation of the fort, and its surrender to the Federal commander and his heroic troops.

It was on the James river, at Fort Darling, situated eight miles below Richmond, that, on the 15th of May, the Federal cause received the first reverse which it had suffered for a considerable period of time. On that day the gunboats Monitor, Galena, Aroostook, Port Royal, and Naugatuck, having reached the position already named,

on their way toward the Rebel capital, for the purpose of coöperating with the army of the Potomac, suddenly encountered a fierce and formidable assault from the Rebel batteries which had been erected upon Ward's Bluff. At this point the stream makes an abrupt turn, and contracts its proportions. It thus rendered the batteries placed upon its banks more effective. At the foot of the bluff obstructions had been placed in the river, consisting of sunken vessels secured by chains, which effectually terminated the further advance of the gunboats. The fortifications on the shore were placed on ground two hundred feet above the surface of the river, and a body of Rebel troops were posted in the vicinity, to assist the attack on the gunboats. The latter having been anchored about a thousand yards from the batteries, a desperate engagement immediately commenced. The guns of the enemy poured down an incessant hailstorm of shot upon the decks of the Federal vessels, and seriously damaged them. The latter responded with great spirit, but it soon became evident that the disadvantages of their situation were quite insurmountable. It was found impossible to elevate the guns of the Monitor to the unusual range required by the high position of the batteries, and therefore she was very nearly rendered useless. She was struck three times on her turret and twice upon her sides. The only effect produced by the balls was to bend the iron plates of the vessel. The Naugatuck suffered a much more serious disaster. After delivering several effective shots, her immense one hundred pound rifled Parrot gun burst, killing the gunner and wounding two men. The rest of her armament consisted of two boarding howitzers, which, in such a contest, were of little consequence. The casualties on the Galena were still more serious. The shots of the Rebel batteries



riddled her deck with ease, and several of their balls penetrated her side. Fourteen of her crew were killed and thirteen wounded. The narrowness of the channel at this point, which prevented this vessel from turning, so as to work to advantage, rendered her a helpless mark for the enemy. The other gunboats were not seriously injured. The action continued nearly five hours; after which time the uselessness of further effort being apparent, the boats dropped down the river to their former anchorage. The entire Federal loss was fifteen killed and sixteen wounded.

This check did not delay for a moment the steady progress of the Federal forces under General McClellan toward Richmond. On the 20th of May the advance under Stoneman reached New Bridge, eight miles distant from that city, driving the pickets of the enemy before them. The Rebels were no longer found in force on that side of the Chickahominy creek, which there becomes an insignificant stream. On the 21st a large portion of the troops crossed it at Bottom's bridge and at the Railroad bridge, and occupied a position a mile and a half beyond. On the 23d several skirmishes took place between portions of the two armies, in one of which the Rebels were driven from Mechanicsville, six miles from New bridge; and in another, the famous Louisiana Tigers were dreadfully cut up by the fourth Michigan regiment. Other skirmishes subsequently occurred at different points along the hostile lines, in which the Federal forces usually gained the advantage. These comparatively insignificant operations were viewed as merely preliminary to the colossal and decisive engagements which were expected to take place between the rival hosts, in the vicinity of the Rebel capital; which, with some probability of truth and reason, were regarded as the

final arbiters of the fate of the Confederate government, and were expected to prove mortal blows to their already exhausted and expiring empire.

A few days previous to the events which have just been narrated, the attention of the nation was temporarily diverted from the exclusive scrutiny of scenes of blood and conflict, by a proclamation which was issued by Major General David Hunter, then commanding the Department of the South, by which he assumed the responsibility of declaring the States of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina under martial law; at the same time affirming that, as slavery and martial law were incompatible, he pronounced all those persons who had formerly been held to slavery in those States thenceforth forever free. This bold and sweeping proclamation elicited different judgments from the public, according to their previously entertained opinions; some commending it, while others censured it. Whatever might have been the abstract merit and virtue of the measure, it did not harmonize with the more conservative and moderate sentiments of President Lincoln; who, on the 19th of May issued a counter proclamation, repudiating the act of General Hunter as unauthorized, and setting forth that he, the President, by virtue of the authority vested in him, reserved to himself the right to determine whether he possessed the power to declare the slaves in any of the States free; and whether, provided he possessed that power, it would ever become necessary to the maintenance and preservation of the Federal Government, for him to exercise it. At the same time the Chief Executive set forth, that he had on a previous occasion recommended that Congress should pass a joint resolution, by which the United States would be obliged to assist any State which might, of its own accord, resolve to abolish

slavery within its limits; giving it such pecuniary aid as might be necessary to enable it to execute such a purpose. That recommendation had been accepted and approved by the Federal Congress; and it stood recorded in their proceedings as a solemn and authentic proposal from the nation to the slave States. Thus far and no farther did he deem it prudent and equitable then to determine or to legislate on the subject. The position thus assumed and maintained by Mr. Lincoln, received the approval of the majority of the inhabitants of the loyal States, who were not at that period in favor of any more radical or decisive measure in reference to the enfranchisement of the victims of southern bondage.

## CHAPTER XXII.

THE CORPS D'ARMEE OF GENERAL BANKS—IMPRUDENT REDUCTION OF ITS NUMBERS—THE REBELS UNDER JACKSON ATTACK THE ADVANCE AT FRONT ROYAL—DESIGN OF THE REBELS TO OVERPOWER BANKS' DIVISION—THE LATTER ORDERS A GENERAL RETREAT TOWARD WINCHESTER—VARIOUS ENGAGEMENTS ON THE ROUTE—BATTLE AT MIDDLETOWN—ACTION ON THE MARCH TO WINCHESTER—BATTLE AT NEWTOWN—THE BATTLE OF WINCHESTER—ITS RESULTS—CONTINUANCE OF THE RETREAT TO WILLIAMSPORT—ADVENTURES OF THE ZOUAVES D'AFRIQUE—FEDERAL LOSSES DURING THE RETREAT—SKETCH OF GENERAL BANKS—ATTITUDE OF THE FEDERAL AND REBEL ARMIES AT CORINTH—A GREAT BATTLE ANTICIPATED—COMMENCEMENT OF THE ATTACK BY GENERAL HALLECK—ITS RESULTS—EVACUATION OF CORINTH BY THE REBELS—CAUSES OF THIS EVENT—AN EXTRAORDINARY SPECTACLE—PURSUIT OF THE RETREATING FOE—A RECONNOISSANCE ON THE CHICKAHOMINY—SKIRMISH AT THE PINES—THE BATTLE OF HANOVER COURT HOUSE—DESTRUCTION OF THE RICHMOND AND FREDERICKSBURG RAILROAD—GALLANT EXPLOIT OF LIEUTENANT DAVIS.

THAT portion of the Federal forces which had been placed under the command of General Banks, had pursued the Rebels under General Jackson through the valley of the Shenandoah with steady and unvarying success as far as Strasburg, when on the 23d of May, 1862, a sudden reverse overtook the victors. The *corps* of General Banks originally consisted of an efficient body, comprising three brigades. These had been reduced from time to time to less than half of their first proportions, through the occult influence of various causes, by sending large detachments to other commanders in the field. The result of this policy was, that General Banks was eventually placed in a critical position, in the



heart of a hostile country, and liable to be attacked at any moment by an enraged enemy with an overwhelming preponderance of numbers. The commander of the Rebels in that region was too shrewd and vigilant an officer not to discover the immense advantages which were thus unfortunately placed within his reach; and he soon gave the friends of the Union ample cause to regret the energy and skill with which he improved the opportunity of revenge and conquest which this indiscretion tendered him.

On the 23d of May the advance guard of General Banks, which was stationed under Colonel Kenley at Front Royal, consisting of the first Maryland regiment, was suddenly attacked by the Rebels with great fury, and with an immense superiority of numbers. As soon as information of this event reached the headquarters at Strasburg, General Banks ordered a detachment of cavalry and a portion of his artillery forward to the support of Colonel Kenley; but when it was ascertained soon afterward, that the troops of that officer had been wholly scattered by the avalanche which had descended upon them, and that the enemy, twenty-five thousand strong, were rushing on like a deluge, for the purpose of surrounding and crushing the comparatively weak force of General Banks, the reinforcements thus ordered forward were recalled. That commander quickly discerned the full extent of his danger; and the novel and perilous crisis summoned all his rare powers of discrimination into immediate action. He perceived that, under the circumstances, only one of three lines of conduct was possible for him: He might advance with his whole force from Strasburg toward Front Royal, and attack the enemy on the flank. He might retire across Little North Mountain, and thus reach the Potomac on the west. He might retreat to Winchester;

there preserve his communications with his original base of operations; wait for reinforcements; engage the advancing enemy if necessary, or retreat to Williamsport as the event might demand. The objection to the first plan was fatal: his troops were too few to attack the augmented and greatly superior force which the Rebels had suddenly brought together at Front Royal. The argument against the second plan was equally potent: by it General Banks would have been compelled to abandon his whole train, consisting of five hundred wagons of ammunitions and stores. The third expedient alone was prudent and feasible; for by a skillful retreat toward Winchester, and thence to the Potomac, the army might be saved from capture, his stores from total loss, and the cause of the Union from a greater disaster than any which had occurred since the commencement of the war.

Accordingly, at three o'clock on the morning of the 24th of May, the hurried dispositions for the retreat were made. Colonel Donnelly's brigade was ordered forward in the advance with the wagon trains. Colonel Gordon was placed in command of the bulk of the infantry in the centre. General Hatch, with nearly the whole of the cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, was charged with the protection of the rear. By nine o'clock all the arrangements were completed; every man was at his post; General Banks was ubiquitous over the whole line; the last orders to march were given; and then began one of the most masterly retreats which can be found recorded on the checkered pages of history. Soon the Rebel forces came rushing on in full pursuit. The long line of troops and wagons was winding its tedious way, like an immense anaconda, stretching between Strasburg and Middletown, when the enemy, passing the Federal troops by a circuitous rout, reached the front of the column and

made an attack upon the heavy trains, and the troops which guarded them. The enemy had obtained possession of the road at Middletown, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat; and now the fugitives from the front came running toward the rear in wild confusion, bringing the first tidings of the assault. The position and immediate purpose of the Rebels being thus ascertained, Colonel Donnelly was instantly ordered forward with a body of troops to support the advance. He encountered the enemy in full force at Middletown, thirteen miles from Winchester. Colonel Knipe was directed, with the forty-sixth Pennsylvania, to attack the enemy posted in the woods on the right. He was supported by a portion of Cochran's New York battery and the twenty-eighth New York regiment. After a short though spirited contest the Rebels broke and fled. They were then pursued for more than two miles from the scene of action; but as there seemed to be no visible end to the chase, the victors returned to the main column. As it was the purpose of General Banks to effect his return to Winchester, and not to win battles, except in so far as it was necessary to accomplish that result, he refused to waste valuable time in useless conquests. Thus Middletown was passed, and the heroic march was continued toward Winchester.

It was now ascertained that the Rebels had taken another position, for the purpose of intercepting the Federal forces before they reached that city. General Hatch, who still commanded the rear, was then ordered to advance with the greater part of his troops, leaving Colonel De Forrest to protect the rear. Hatch in vain attempted to join the Federal troops in front, being intercepted by the greater masses of the enemy; he then moved to the left, and advanced by a parallel road toward Winchester. He found Colonel Gordon at New-

town, where he effected a junction with the main column. But six companies of the New York fifth under Colonel De Forrest, in the rear, were cut off by the enemy from the rest of the troops, and compelled to retreat to Strasburg. At Newtown a spirited contest took place between a large body of the Rebels and a portion of the Federal troops commanded by Colonel Gordon, consisting of the second Massachusetts, the twenty-seventh Indiana, and the twenty-eighth New York. These troops attacked the Rebels with fury, drove them from the town, and the guns of the enemy were silenced by the Federal battery; but they found it impossible to effect a junction with the cavalry under General Hatch, or to recover the rear of the train which had been cut off. It was here that, as the Federal column continued their line of march, they were surrounded by numerous masses of the Rebel hordes, who repeatedly charged on them with cavalry, but were as often repulsed in solid squares, with all the gallantry and firmness of veterans. During these operations, the wagons which became disabled were burned from time to time, to prevent their contents from falling into the hands of the enemy; while after each assault and each repulse, the line of march was quietly resumed. Many were wounded and slain on both sides; and thus by slow stages the Federal forces approached, and finally reached Winchester. It was at this place that the most tragical scenes connected with this memorable and masterly retreat were destined to occur.

The Rebels having concentrated twenty-five thousand men around the Federal forces as they lay in the vicinity of Winchester, commenced the attack at break of day on the 25th of May. The latter reposed upon their arms during their halt, and were ready at a moment's notice to



receive the enemy. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Gordon, comprised the third brigade, and the men were protected to some extent from the fire of the foe by stone walls in the vicinity. Colonel Donnelly commanded the remainder of the infantry, which was posted on the left. General Hatch and the cavalry occupied the centre. The enemy commenced the engagement by an attack on the left of the Federal line. Here they suffered severely, and the advantage remained with the Federals. On the right the enemy were more numerous, and were more successful in their operations. They attempted to turn the flank of the Federal troops upon the Berryville road. A portion of the latter then retreated, the Rebels pursued, and a confused flight through Winchester took place. The right wing followed in better order, and covered the retreat through the town. On the opposite side of Winchester order was again restored, and the line of march resumed. This battle continued during five hours. In it about five thousand men, of all arms, had confronted and encountered with honor twenty-five thousand. The Rebels gained few laurels by the combat. The retreat was then continued toward Martinsburg, the Federal troops marching in three parallel columns. Each of these columns was protected by a rear guard, which repeatedly and defiantly skirmished with the Rebels. At Martinsburg the Federal troops halted two hours and a half; thus demonstrating that they were not making a panic-stricken or precipitate retreat. After that interval the march was resumed; and at six o'clock on the same day, they reached the banks of the Potomac at Williamsport. They had traveled fifty-three miles in forty-eight hours. A small number of the wearied troops crossed the river

during the night ; the remainder followed on the ensuing day.

The Federal loss in this retreat was, under the circumstances, a very small one. It was thirty-eight killed, one hundred and fifty-five wounded, seven hundred missing. All the Federal guns, sixteen in number, were saved. Out of a train of nearly five hundred wagons, only fifty-five were lost. Most of these were burned upon the road, because they had become wrecked, and not because they were abandoned to the enemy. Among the officers who especially distinguished themselves on this occasion was General A. S. Williams, commanding the division ; Colonels Donnelly and Gordon, commanding the two brigades ; and General Hatch, the chief of cavalry. In the several engagements which took place during the retreat, not a few episodes occurred in which particular corps and single companies displayed the best and noblest qualities of the soldier. Our space forbids us to enumerate all of these. One of the most remarkable, which deserves special mention, was the escape of the *Zouaves d'Afrique*, who had been the body guard of the commander-in-chief. These men were selected to perform the dangerous duty of burning the bridges in the rear of the retreating column. They were commanded by Captain Collis. When the overwhelming numbers of the enemy became evident, and it remained uncertain whether the Federal troops might not themselves need the bridges by which to return, they abandoned their task, pressed forward toward Winchester, and reached Middletown during the progress of the battle at that place. They there joined in the combat ; but being only seventy in number, were overwhelmed by a vastly superior force, and compelled to retreat. They then pursued their march toward Winchester by a different

route. In the vicinity of that town they again encountered the enemy, and were compelled to turn back. Unable to unite with the main column in consequence of this obstacle, they took an obscure path over the mountains, intending to cross the Potomac at Pan-Pan tunnel. At Bloomery Gap they learned that a numerous body of the enemy were posted ten miles in advance, directly on their route. They therefore turned to the right, and marched to Hancock, on the Potomac, a distance of thirty miles; escaping many perils, exhausted by excessive labors which would have overtaken the strongest frames, and yet safely bringing with them thirty-five wagons loaded with valuable stores, which had been abandoned by the army near Middletown.

As Xenophon, in a former and distant age, derived the chief glory of a life not otherwise undistinguished, from the skill and valor with which he conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, after the death of the younger Cyrus at the battle of Cunaxa, through Asia Minor to the welcome shores of the Euxine Sea; so the greatest renown of General Banks will hereafter probably be derived from the ability with which he effected the escape of his division from the Rebel hordes at Strasburg, and led it in safety to Williamsport. This Federal hero was born in Massachusetts, in January, 1816. His early education was limited to the meagre routine of the common school; and his earliest industry was expended in the labors of a cotton factory at Waltham. He afterward aspired to the craft and mastered the mysteries of a machinist. While engaged in this pursuit, he gratified his desire for intellectual improvement, and occasionally delivered popular addresses before temperance meetings, literary lyceums, and political assemblies. He afterward assumed the editorship of a rural newspaper, and engaged

zealously in the political contests of the day. In 1849 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1851 he was chosen the Speaker of that body. In the following year he was promoted to a seat in the Federal Congress. In 1854 he was re-elected to that position; and was chosen, after a spirited contest of nearly two months duration, to preside over the deliberations of the House. In 1857 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts; and he performed the duties of that important office with eminent ability and success. The high reputation which he had gained for capacity, energy and integrity, turned the special regard of the administration upon him when the Rebellion broke forth; and when a selection was to be made of some of the wisest and best men in the nation, to fill the offices of greatest responsibility in the military service of the country, the once obscure cotton weaver of Waltham was invested with the dignity and rank of major general in the Federal army. He was placed in command of a portion of the troops on the Potomac, and during many months evinced his fitness for his new sphere, by guarding a part of that river and the territory lying adjacent from the inroads of the Rebels. When at last the nation was gratified by the announcement that the march toward Richmond was about to commence, General Banks led his forces into the bowels of the hostile land. We have elsewhere recorded the subsequent success which attended his movements in this important enterprise.

We turn from the successful retreat of the Federal troops from Strasburg, to notice the mysterious flight of the Rebel forces from Corinth.

Immediately after the battle of Shiloh, near Pittsburg Landing, the immense army which had conquered under General Albert Sidney Johnson, and had been defeated



on the next day under his successor in command, General Beauregard, retreated to Corinth, and entrenched themselves within the limits and in the vicinity of that town. Their future operations were unknown; it was uncertain whether they would again advance, and try the fortunes of war in the open field, or whether they would await the attack of the Federal troops in their fortified position. The Union forces were soon afterward placed under the orders of General Halleck, an officer whom, though not as yet the victor in any great battle, the public unanimously agreed to applaud, as the ablest, or as one of the ablest, of the Federal commanders. By a combination of the troops under Generals Grant, Buell, Pope and Thomas, his army was augmented to the formidable number of over a hundred thousand men. An intense degree of interest centered around the struggle which, it was anticipated, would occur at that place. During some weeks it was regarded by the popular mind, as equal in magnitude, importance, and the decisiveness of its results, to the final contest which was expected to occur at Richmond. It was thought that, at Corinth, General Beauregard would attempt to revive and freshen the laurels which were withered at Shiloh; to recover the crown which he had gained at Manassas, but which had been wrested from his brow at Pittsburg Landing. All these prognostications were destined to a sudden and complete disappointment.

General Halleck had been slowly approaching Corinth during some days, feeling his way cautiously and prudently, when, on the 27th of May, he ordered General Sherman to advance toward the outer pickets of the enemy, select a position as near as possible to their entrenchments, and defend himself in it. Six or eight brigades were detailed to this service, and early in the

morning of the day just named the operations began. At the first attack upon them the Rebels were taken by surprise; but they quickly rallied, and their outposts being reinforced, an engagement of some severity ensued. This contest occupied a large portion of the day, but at three o'clock in the afternoon the whole line of the enemy broke and fled before the vigorous assaults of the Federal infantry and artillery. The latter advanced, and at the close of the day occupied the position deserted by the enemy. This position was about thirteen hundred yards distant from the main entrenchments of the Rebel army, upon which they had expended so much labor. General Sherman commenced at once to entrench his troops in their new post; the lines were laid out after nightfall; and so industriously did the Federal soldiers work that, before the dawn of the morning of the 29th their breast-works were completed. By nine o'clock of that day the siege trains were brought forward, and the artillery were placed in position. The Federal forces, consisting of a whole division, now occupied an immense curve around Corinth, facing southward; the right wing resting on the Mobile and Ohio railroad, the left on the main road to Corinth. The two armies were in such close proximity to each other, that the sound of the drums and the voices of those in command, could be distinctly heard from the opposite camps. On the 30th of May it was expected that the last and greatest combat would commence.

The attention of the Federal commanders had been attracted, and their suspicions aroused, during several previous days and nights, by the frequent noise of railroad cars arriving and departing in a direction opposite to their own position. At six o'clock in the morning of the 30th, a succession of loud explosions which took place within the enemy's works, increased the mystery;

nor was that mystery solved until, after the order to advance had been given by General Sherman, it was discovered that the entrenchments of the Rebels were wholly deserted. The brigade of General M. L. Smith was the first to reach and to enter the redoubts of the fugitive foe. He then advanced into the town of Corinth, which he also found entirely evacuated by the Rebels. General Denver followed; and by eight o'clock the entire division of General Sherman occupied the deserted town. An extraordinary spectacle now presented itself to the view of the Federal troops. Far and wide on every hand could be seen the remains of the abandoned camps.

Numerous warehouses, in which the explosions referred to had taken place, were in flames or were smouldering in ruins. Immense quantities of flour and provisions, ammunition and clothing, lay scattered in the wildest confusion; and it was evident that the Rebels had evacuated their boasted stronghold by a rapid and disorderly retreat. Then it was ascertained from the remaining citizens of the town that, during several days and nights, the immense army of General Beauregard had been transported over two railroads from Corinth; although a portion of them had been compelled at last to leave in hot haste on foot, in order to escape the impending assault of the Federal troops under General Halleck.

The stars and stripes were soon unfurled over the recent fortifications of the enemy; and in a few hours the victors occupied the various entrenchments which they had evacuated. That evacuation, so unexpected and so significant, excited the utmost astonishment throughout the nation; and conjecture was busy in assigning the probable causes which might have produced it. The most prevalent and plausible supposition was, that the

Rebel commander was afraid to encounter the formidable host mustered under the banners of General Halleck ; and that they wisely averted the horrors and the disgrace of an overwhelming defeat, by a prudent and clandestine flight. This result was more acceptable and propitious to the Federal cause than a great though sanguinary victory would have been.\* A vast amount of stores and ammunition, several thousand stand of arms, and twenty-five hundred prisoners, afterward fell into the hands of the troops of the Union. Subsequent to the occupation of Corinth a pursuit of the enemy was ordered ; and General Pope's division was dispatched after that portion of them who had fled westward. He soon overtook their rear, six miles southwest of the town ; and an engagement ensued in which a number were slain on both sides, and some Rebel prisoners were taken.

During the progress of these events, the Federal army in the Peninsula was steadily approaching Richmond. Its advance was marked from day to day by futile opposition on the part of the enemy, and by several important and sanguinary contests between the opposing forces. On the 23d of May a reconnoissance was ordered by General McClellan, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the right wing of his army could cross the Chickahominy immediately, with safety and advantage. The troops detailed for this service proceeded up the left bank of the stream about three miles. The sixth Pennsylvania cavalry, who were in the advance, suddenly came in sight of the New Bridge which spanned it ; and before the Rebel pickets in the vicinity could apply the

\* The real motive for the evacuation of Corinth was, that the larger portion of the Rebel forces might be transferred thence to Richmond, and be united with those which afterward repulsed General McClellan from that capital.



torch, they dashed forward and took possession of it. They immediately crossed over, together with Robinson's battery, and proceeded a short distance beyond the stream. As soon as these troops had ascended a hill, a few hundred yards distant from the bridge, the Rebels who were concealed in a dense woods, opened a fire upon them from several batteries. Robinson immediately responded with four guns, Titball with six guns, which they had quickly placed in a favorable position; and a vigorous cannonade ensued. The Rebel artillery was supported by a regiment of infantry, and by some squadrons of cavalry, who, in a short time endeavored to outflank their assailants. But this purpose was defeated by the latter, and they were in turn driven back. The action lasted nearly an hour, after which the Rebels abandoned the attack, and the Federal troops encamped for the night on the battle-field. On the following morning the action was renewed. The Rebels assailed the Federals with a battery of four guns. But they effected little damage, in consequence of the inaccuracy of their aim. At length Wheeler's battery and Davidson's brigade were ordered forward to attack and capture the guns of the enemy, which were supported by several regiments of infantry, and by several squadrons of cavalry. The Federal troops advanced with great spirit, filling the air with their defiant shouts, and sending a hail-storm of balls into the ranks of the foe as they approached them. The latter did not wait for a nearer or closer contact; but as soon as the order to charge bayonets had been given they broke and fled. They were pursued a short distance, after which the chase terminated and the Federal troops were recalled to their former position. The Federal loss in this action was two killed and ten wounded. That of the enemy is unknown; a partial yet

plausible conjecture would estimate it at a much larger number.

A similar operation attended by a similar result, was effected on the *left* wing of the Federal army on the 24th of May. A reconnoissance was ordered on that day, to ascertain the strength of the Rebels in a position called the Pines; and a considerable force consisting of infantry and cavalry, was placed under the command of General Naglee for that purpose. At ten o'clock these troops reached the spot where the enemy had planted two batteries, from which they immediately began to salute the Federals. The guns of the latter were quickly made to respond. The Rebel force consisted of these two batteries, containing eight guns, one regiment of infantry, and five hundred cavalry. During the progress of the contest which ensued, the eighth Pennsylvania cavalry attacked the horse of the enemy and completely routed them. The infantry also came into collision. But the chief execution was effected on both sides by the artillery. The batteries of the Rebels were shifted several times from their positions, and were driven in every instance from them with heavy loss. At length, after an engagement of two hours duration, the enemy retreated, and were concealed from the view of the victors by the foliage of a dense and shady forest. Skirmishers were then thrown forward to ascertain their location; but as they could not be found within the compass of several miles, the pursuit was abandoned. They had retreated toward the right, in the direction of the Richmond railroad, in the vicinity of which, it was conjectured, a much larger force was then concentrated. The Federal loss in this action was five killed, sixteen wounded. That of the Rebels was probably much greater, as not a few of their cavalry were seen to fall from their horses, and were

afterward conveyed from the battle-field by the retreating enemy.

These skirmishes and several others of less importance which took place at this period along the banks of the Chicahominy, were followed on the 27th of May by the more decisive battle of Hanover Court House. General McClellan readily discerned the necessity of cutting off the connection between the Rebel authorities at Richmond with those at Fredericksburg, which was preserved and maintained by the railroad running between those two cities. The task of destroying this road, and of routing the Rebel forces which might attempt to prevent the execution of the enterprise, was entrusted to the troops commanded by General Fitz John Porter. Accordingly, at four o'clock in the morning of the 27th these troops were under arms, and the march began from the Federal camp. The sixth Pennsylvania cavalry were in the advance of the column, commanded by Major Williams. The line of march was along the New Bridge road, thence over the Hanover turnpike. The first glimpse of the enemy was obtained at McKinsey's Cross Roads, where their mounted pickets were encountered. This place was six miles distant from Hanover Court House, and at noon the vicinity of that spot was reached. During the progress of the day three separate contests took place with the Rebel forces, in each of which they were routed.

The first of these occurred at a locality known as Kinney's House. A number of Rebel troops had been concealed in and around this mansion; and as the twenty-fifth New York regiment, who were then in the advance, approached it, a heavy fire was opened upon them. Their volleys were quickly returned while the Federals advanced. They then commenced to fire with a number

of field pieces, which they had posted on a road in front of the house. The Federal artillery were now placed in position, and responded to the guns of the enemy, while at the same time, Berdan's Sharpshooters were distributed to the right and to the left, for the purpose of picking off the Rebel gunners. These famous marksmen, lying flat upon the ground, according to their usual custom, took deadly and infallible aim at the foe; and soon, one of the Rebel guns being wholly unmanned, they rushed forward and took possession of it. During this interval the Federal regiments in the rear were approaching the scene of action. Generals Butterfield, Martindale and McQuade brought their several brigades successively within range. A spirited contest of nearly two hours duration then ensued, between the Federal troops and the whole strength of the enemy collected at that point. At the expiration of that time the latter were driven from their position, and fled with precipitation through the woods. General Porter immediately ordered a pursuit; and for three miles a chase followed, over boggy marshes, through dense forests, and among waving grain fields. The Rebels clearly demonstrated their superiority, if in nothing else, in their fleetness of locomotion; and the best efforts of the Federals were defeated in the vain attempt to overtake the fugitives. While a portion of the Union forces were employed in this service, General Martindale's brigade was ordered to hasten to the Virginia Central railroad, and commence the work of its demolition. The order was obeyed with alacrity. In a short space of time forty rods of the road were destroyed, a bridge was burned, the telegraph was intercepted, and the communication of the enemy between Richmond and Fredericksburg completely ruined.

After this success an interval of several hours duration



ensued, during which the Federal troops rested upon their arms, and the Rebels were quietly receiving reinforcements from Richmond. At the end of that period the latter again appeared, and began to fire upon a house which had been occupied by the Federals as a hospital, and upon the troops who were in the vicinity. This attack quickly brought the forty-fourth New York regiment forward to the assistance of the assailed; and soon the entire brigade of General Martindale was formed into line of battle. Thus the second engagement of the day began, during which the Rebels fought concealed in the woods. The firing on both sides from cannon and musketry was rapid and continuous. Griffin and Benson's batteries scattered shot and shell over the whole position of the enemy; and after the lapse of an hour, the latter began to break and retreat. In a short time all those who had taken part in the action disappeared from view, and the Federal troops again remained masters of the field. But the labors and triumphs of the day were not yet terminated. At this crisis a more numerous body of Rebels took their position in the rear of Kinney's House, and recommenced the contest with great spirit. It is probable that they mustered fifteen thousand men, in this last effort to dislodge the Federal forces from the possession of the railroad. General Porter, perceiving the importance of this final struggle, ordered his artillery to be brought forward and placed on both sides of the front of the enemy, so that he might shell them by diagonal fires, while the infantry made the attack in the centre, commanded by General Butterfield. These orders were executed with admirable skill and firmness. The troops advanced to the assault with hearty cheers which were suggestive of the inevitable victory which was to follow. Hard fighting again took place. The enemy remained

for the most part concealed in the woods; but as the darkness of night approached, their fire slackened, and before the close of the day they had evacuated their entire position. These two additional hours of fighting ended with the complete discomfiture and flight of the Rebel forces. A number of prisoners were taken. The victors slept on their arms, without any shelter, and occupied the field which they had signalized by their valor. The Federal loss during the entire day was forty killed, two hundred and twenty wounded. It was evident, from a subsequent examination of the woods in which the enemy had chiefly fought, and which they had evacuated, that their loss must have been much greater; for the mangled bodies of their dead and wounded covered the ground both far and near.

The various operations of an army so numerous as that then posted before Richmond, would necessarily include many minor episodes and individual achievements which will never be recorded on the historic page; in which the actors exhibited as much heroism as could be displayed on the most extensive and renowned battlefield. Our space permits us here to allude to but one of these. General McClellan having formed the determination to open communications with the Federal gunboats on the James river, then fifteen miles distant from his camp, ordered Lieutenant Frank C. Davis, of the third Pennsylvania cavalry, to perform the task with an escort of ten picked men. It was a service of considerable difficulty and danger, from the fact that the intervening country was filled with the pickets of the enemy. The danger of capture or of death was imminent. A rare combination of prudence, tact and boldness was necessary to accomplish the feat. On the morning of Sunday, the 25th of May, the lieutenant started from the Federal

camp. Scarcely had he traveled four miles when he encountered the pickets of the enemy posted in a wood. He avoided these by a sudden *détour* and pursued his journey. The same incident occurred several times, when his escapes from the impending peril were marvelous. At length he came within view of the James river, three miles distant, and beheld the Union gunboats riding at anchor upon its tranquil bosom. He hid his men in the woods and rode forward alone. Reaching the banks of the river, he obtained a small boat, and hired two negroes to row him to the *Galena*. He was met when half way by a cutter from the ship. The message with which he had been entrusted, though a very important one, had not been committed to writing, in order to avoid the possibility of its becoming known to the enemy by the capture of the messenger. The lieutenant having delivered that message and received his answer, commenced his return. He then encountered the same perils, and evaded them with the same success. He traveled with his escort during the whole night, and reached the camp in safety at eleven o'clock on Monday morning. General McClellan directed his chief of staff to express to Lieutenant Davis his approbation of the prompt, discreet and satisfactory manner in which he and his men had performed the duty assigned them, in communicating with Captain Rodgers, the commander of the fleet of Federal gunboats in James river.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

APPROACH OF THE FEDERAL ARMY TO RICHMOND—THE CORPS OF GENERAL KEYS CROSS THE CHICKAHOMINY—THEIR EXPOSED POSITION—HOSTILE PURPOSE OF THE REBEL LEADERS—THE BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES—POSITION OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS—COMMENCEMENT OF THE ATTACK—DISPOSITION OF TROOPS MADE BY GENERAL CASEY—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE—ROUT OF CASEY'S DIVISION—GENERAL COUCH'S TROOPS BECOME ENGAGED—DESPERATE FIGHTING—VICTORY OF THE REBELS—THE FEDERALS REINFORCED—THE ENGAGEMENT OF JUNE FIRST, GENERAL HEINTZELMAN IN CHIEF COMMAND—INCIDENTS OF THIS BATTLE—HEROISM OF THE IRISH REGIMENTS AND OF SICKELS' EXCELSIOR BRIGADE—THE VICTORY OF FAIR OAKS—ITS RESULTS—POPULAR IMPATIENCE FOR THE OCCUPATION OF RICHMOND—REBEL FORCES IN THE VALLEY OF THE SHENANDOAH—THEIR BRIEF OCCUPATION OF IT—GENERAL FREMONT ORDERED TO EXPEL THEM—THEY ABANDON WINCHESTER—THEIR RETREAT THROUGH STRASBURG AND WOODSTOCK—BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS—GALLANTRY OF THE BUCKTAILS—RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—BATTLE OF PORT REPUBLIC—INCIDENTS OF THIS ENGAGEMENT—ITS RESULTS—RETREAT OF GENERAL JACKSON TOWARD RICHMOND—APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL POPE AS COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT—WITHDRAWAL OF GENERAL FREMONT—HIS MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS—HIS TRUE RENOWN.

THE history of past ages demonstrates that, in every great struggle between contending nations, the contest will ultimately culminate in a few particular localities; that there the chief resources of the combatants will be concentrated; that the engagements which take place at those points will be more colossal in their proportions, more obstinate and desperate in their spirit than those which preceded them; and that they will produce a decisive effect on the issue of the contest one way or the other. This maxim holds true with regard to the war



against the Southern Rebellion. It was in the vicinity of Richmond that some of the most terrible battles were destined to occur. There the chief military strength of the Rebels had been concentrated. Thither their ablest generals had been summoned. At that place they had evidently resolved, with a heroism not destitute of grandeur and dignity, but sadly perverted to an ignoble end, to conquer or to perish. We have now arrived, in the progress of this history, at the most sanguinary scenes which ever occurred on the American Continent and we will proceed, in this chapter, to describe a portion of them as they transpired at the spot which every patriot fondly hoped would prove the Arbela, the Pharsalia, the Waterloo, of the Rebel Confederacy.

The corps of General Keys, which formed a part of the army of General McClellan, comprised the two divisions of Casey and Couch. These troops were about twenty thousand in number. They first crossed the Chickahominy, as the pioneers of the grand army in the Peninsula, passing over by several bridges; and they were thus placed in the advance in an isolated position. The camp of General Casey, whose troops led the van, was pitched in the vicinity of a spot designated by the name of Seven Pines. It was located about eight miles east of Richmond, near the highway which runs between that city and Williamsburg. The first brigade was placed on the right, the second in the centre, the third on the left of the line. A number of breastworks had been thrown up immediately after the occupation of the camp; and a line of rifle pits had been dug. The troops who composed this division, were for the most part new and raw levies, whose discipline was lax, and whose military experience was extremely limited. Many of them, unaccustomed to the hardships and privations of a

soldier's life, were sick; and although the men were individually as brave as their comrades, no corps of the entire army was less fitted than they, to repulse the first and sudden attack of an infuriated enemy. The division of General Couch consisted of twelve regiments. He had dug two lines of rifle-pits in front of his position, which was located in the interval between the camp of General Casey and Fair Oak Station. His troops were more familiar with the service, and were more numerous than those of General Casey.

The Rebel commanders had conceived the plan of attacking these troops, with an overwhelming superiority of numbers, in their exposed position, while cut off from the rest of the Federal army; and having destroyed them, to press on, break through the lines in the rear, and eventually intercept the communication of the army with the depot at White House, through which its supplies of ammunition and subsistence were obtained. On Friday, May 30th, the enemy made a reconnoissance in force for the purpose of ascertaining the precise position and strength of these troops, and the location of their camps. The Federal pickets, who were a mile in advance of the Federal lines, observed on that day and on the morning of the following, an unusual commotion in the camp of the Rebels, which was within their view; but no apprehension was entertained of the momentous events which were about to follow. It was on Saturday, May 31st, that the first battle in the vicinity of Richmond took place. On that day the Rebels, having obtained accurate information respecting the exposed position of Generals Casey and Couch, made the attack. In the rear of the Federal troops the swollen waters of the Chickahominy rolled, effectually preventing their retreat in case they were overpowered. The plans of the Rebels

were well laid; their time of action was opportunely chosen; their assault was commenced and continued with energy and determination. At one o'clock in the day they advanced down the Williamsburg road, toward the Federal camp.\* They fired three shells as a signal to the rest of their forces that all was ready; and they then came upon the Federal pickets suddenly and unexpectedly. The pickets discharged their pieces, fell back, and communicated the intelligence that the enemy were advancing in considerable force. The one hundred and third Pennsylvania regiment was immediately ordered forward to support the pickets. So sudden was the attack, and so rapid the approach of the enemy, that before this regiment could load their pieces they received a volley of musketry. That volley was so effective that it disabled the regiment, not only by the loss of a fifth of its number, but also by completely demoralizing the

\* The position of the different brigades of General Casey's division before the engagement was as follows: General Naglee's brigade, consisting of the one hundred and fourth Pennsylvania, Colonel W. W. H. Davis; eleventh Maine, Lieutenant Colonel Palmsteed; fifty-sixth New York, Colonel C. H. Van Wyck; fifty-second Pennsylvania, Colonel J. C. Dodge; one hundredth New York, Colonel J. M. Brown, were on the right of the Williamsburg and Richmond stage road, and extended across the rail track for some distance. The second brigade, under command of General Wessels, consisting of the eighty-fifth Pennsylvania, Colonel T. B. H. Howell; one hundred and first Pennsylvania, Colonel T. H. Wilson; one hundred and third Pennsylvania, Colonel M. H. Lehman; ninety-sixth New York, Colonel J. Fairman, occupied the centre and guarded the turnpike. The third brigade, General J. N. Palmer commanding, consisting of the eighty-first New York, Lieutenant Colonel De Forest; fifty-fifth New York, Colonel T. S. Belknap; ninety-second New York, Lieutenant Colonel Anderson; ninety-eighth New York, Lieutenant Colonel Durkee, were on the left of the road, and connected with the pickets of General Couch's division.

rest; who, overcome and bewildered by the suddenness of the surprise, broke and fled toward the rear in complete confusion. They carried with them to their comrades exaggerated reports of the vast numbers and the ferocious spirit of their assailants; and announced the fact that their own regiment had been cut to pieces. This information, in itself so false, had the unfortunate effect of extending the panic to some extent among the remainder of the division, whose duty it now became to march against the exultant foe, and stem their advancing tide.

For this purpose preparations were hastily made by General Casey. Spratt's battery was posted on the right, near the edge of the wood which skirted that extremity of the camp. Regan's battery was placed next to it. These were supported by the one hundredth New York, the eleventh Maine, the one hundred and fourth Pennsylvania, and the ninety-second New York regiments. The first salute the enemy received was from these batteries; but they continued to advance with the steadiness of veterans. As they came within range of the musketry of the Federals, they returned the fire with such effect, and still approached with such rapidity, that they compelled their opponents to retire a short distance. But now their progress was checked by an obstacle, undignified indeed, and unheroic, but quite unwelcome and considerable under the circumstances. Four hundred yards in front of the spot where the Federal batteries had been posted a rail fence ran, which it was necessary for the Rebels to cross or to remove. As often as they attempted to accomplish this feat, the Federal guns played upon them with grape and canister so destructively, that their progress was arrested, and huge gaps were ploughed through their serried masses. It was not



until the ammunition of these guns was exhausted, and the wagons being still beyond the Chickahominy, it was impossible to bring forward a fresh supply, that the enemy were able to surmount and overcome the obstruction.

A closer combat then ensued. In vain did General Casey, with the coolness and valor of a veteran, ride along his shattered lines and endeavor to steady them, staggered and wavering as they were, from the fury of the assault made upon them by vastly superior numbers. He ordered a bayonet charge to be made, which was executed with as much force and effect as the strength and spirit of the men permitted. But fresh and heavy masses of Rebels still rolled forward from their rear, to the front, so that the Federal troops were at length overpowered. They then retreated within their first line of defense. Here Bates' battery of six pieces was posted in a redoubt on the left, and Fitch's battery on the right. These guns now opened on the advancing foe. Four Rebel batteries which had been brought forward responded to them, while the firing between the infantry was resumed with intense fury. They soon reached the redoubts and the rifle-pits, where the cannon of Bates and Spratt had been placed. It became impossible to save all of these, and in the end some of them were spiked and abandoned. The Federal troops vainly attempted to resist the immense masses which now swelled forward, and swarmed like a countless host around them. Almost every regiment of Casey's division had by this time been effectually broken and routed. It was now half past four. For three hours and a half those raw and inexperienced troops had stemmed the tide; eight thousand men had resisted thrice their number; and during all that period not more than half a mile had been yielded to the enemy

in retreat. During this period General Casey had exhibited extraordinary courage, coolness and skill; but this brave commander was unable to perform impossibilities. He had lost one fourth of his division, and many of his best officers. He had, however, rendered one essential service, by holding the Rebels in check until the Federal forces in his rear had time to prepare for their onset.

A brief pause intervened between the retreat of Casey's division, and the renewed advance of the enemy against the division of General Couch. The troops of the latter were drawn up obliquely toward the foe, so that when they pressed forward, his right wing became first engaged. Here the twenty-third Pennsylvania regiment was posted, commanded by Colonel Neill. They reserved their fire until the enemy were close upon them; a sheet of lurid flame and iron hail then flew into their ranks, and completely staggered them. A bayonet charge by the gallant Pennsylvanians ensued, which added to their repulse, and to the extent of the slaughter which thinned their dense masses. Here a triumph was obtained which, had the Federal success been equal in other portions of the field, might have reversed the fortunes of the day. But soon the heavy fire of the enemy on their flank compelled them to recoil. The whole line was now engaged, and a disaster which occurred at this crisis on the left, produced a pernicious effect. There the tenth Massachusetts regiment occupied a post near the rifle-pits; but being ordered further to the left, was accidentally placed in an isolated position. When the enemy advanced the tenth engaged them heroically in front; but during this action a portion of the Rebels succeeded in passing unobserved through the adjacent woods to the rear of that regiment. They then attacked

the tenth from that point with great fury. The result was that the men, surrounded by destruction on both sides, broke and fled. They were afterward rallied, and subsequently took an honorable part in the engagement.

Notwithstanding the heavy losses which the Rebels had already suffered, their endless masses still rushed forward into the conflict. Their batteries also were very effective. Accordingly, after a long and desperate struggle, the Federal lines began to give way. The first to retreat was the first Long Island regiment. In vain the fifty-seventh and sixty-third Pennsylvania endeavored to stop the flight. Their steady ranks crumbled like frost work before the terrific and well sustained fire of the enemy. Scarcely an officer remained on horseback. Slowly and reluctantly those heroic troops, which had hurled back the deluge of the Rebel hosts, three times their own number, were compelled to recede toward the Chickahominy, not "unaccountably and discredibly," as was asserted, but simply because human strength and valor, when placed in a desperate and helpless position, could not achieve miracles, or reverse the laws of physical nature.

General Couch now fell back with his shattered column in the direction of the Williamsburg road. Here he again arrayed his men in line of battle. At half past four o'clock, General Sumner arrived on the field with Sedgwick's division. These troops were disposed of as rapidly and judiciously as the occasion permitted; but not too soon to meet the advancing enemy. The thirty-first Pennsylvania, the first Minnesota, and the first chasseurs, were ordered to lie upon their faces, and were thus concealed from their view. As the Rebels emerged from the woods, they delivered a volley at the Anderson Zouaves, who were posted in the rear. Then at the word

of command the prostrate troops bounded to their feet, and poured a deadly deluge of shot into the serried masses of the foe. Their ranks were mowed down like grain before the scythe of the reaper. The ground where they stood was covered with piles of dead and wounded. That discharge was the virtual end of the battle. Among the Rebel dead was General Davis; among the wounded and prisoners was General Pettigrew. The troops of Sumner aided in stemming the victorious march of the enemy, and in saving the Federal forces engaged from total rout and destruction. Thus closed the battle of the Seven Pines. Both armies, exhausted, yet undismayed, passed the ensuing night upon the gory field, or near it, surrounded by the multitudes of the dying and the dead; and anxiously awaited, during its solemn silence, the dawn of the next day, for the renewal of the fight and the decision of the struggle. The enemy had captured every thing which belonged to General Casey's camp, except the baggage wagons which had been sent to the rear several days before; and they occupied the ground at the close of the day, which had been Casey's position at its commencement.

On Sunday, June 1st, the Federal troops promptly stood to their arms in the dim and misty light of the early dawn. Important reinforcements had arrived during the night. On the right wing, the divisions of Richardson and Sedgwick were posted, their left resting on Hooker's right. These divisions comprised the brigades of Burns, French and Meagher. Hooker's division occupied the centre of the line. The left wing was composed of the remains of the divisions of Generals Casey and Couch, whose futile valor had performed its thankless prodigies on the day before. At six o'clock General Heintzelman, who had received the chief command of the forces



engaged, ordered a reconnoissance to be made on the left and on the right, by which it was soon ascertained that the Rebels were posted in great strength in front of the Federal right and left flanks. It was nearly seven o'clock when the firing between the pickets gave evidence that the enemy had begun their advance, and were about to renew the engagement. Heintzelman immediately ordered Hooker to attack the Rebels in front, and drive them back through the woods, from which they were then emerging. Hooker's division comprised the Excelsior brigade of Sickels, with the fifth and sixth New Jersey regiments. These troops advanced gallantly to the attack. They were warmly received by the enemy; but as they approached, they loaded and fired repeatedly with the rapidity and regularity of trained soldiers. After an exchange of shots for some time, General Sickels ordered the second regiment of his brigade to clear the woods at the point of the bayonet. This order was executed with splendid effect. Colonel Hall led the charge in person. The front of the enemy was not a hundred yards distant; and as the Federal troops approached, the Rebels fired a tremendous volley into their ranks; but not a single man faltered. Onward rushed the bristling line of glittering steel. Then the shock came; and soon the foe, shattered and broken, gave way and fled. Among the prisoners taken at this point was Major Herbert, of the eighth Alabama regiment.

During the progress of this achievement, the division of General Richardson was gradually coming into action on the right. Here the ground was exceedingly difficult; but the Irish regiments were fortunately in this part of the fight; and their powers of endurance and their pugnacious spirit were well adapted to the emergency. As the brigades of French, Meagher and Howard com-

battled the foe, the men were sometimes up to their knees in the swampy and boggy soil. This unusual disadvantage would have disgusted or disheartened any other soldiers; but it could not retard the impetuous sons of Erin, who rushed forward to the deadly encounter with jocular yells, and with all the mingled glee and furor of a "free fight." The enemy received them with a terrible discharge of musketry. General Howard had two horses shot under him, and was also wounded. A desperate struggle ensued. The superior numbers of the Rebels rendered the issue at one time extremely doubtful. At that moment the fourth and fifth Excelsior regiments of Sickels, who had already gained their share of the victory in another part of the field, were dispatched to the support of Richardson's men. The battle now spread around to the New Jersey brigade, who stood up manfully to the enemy. At length the Rebels began to recede; yet slowly and steadily. The Federal troops then pushed forward, crowding upon the yielding lines of the foe, as they floundered over the swampy ground. Two hundred of these were captured here. By eleven o'clock the firing ceased, the battle was over, the victory was won. The enemy were driven from every position which they had gained on the preceding day. Their main column rested a mile beyond the point which they held at the commencement of the engagement. Such was the battle, and such the victory of Fair Oaks, by which the misfortune and defeat of the Seven Pines were compensated for by a brilliant success. The Rebels were commanded on this occasion by Generals Joseph E. Johnson, Longstreet, Pryor, Cobb, and Huger. The guns and ammunition which they had captured on Saturday were not recovered; they having been transported with prudent and thrifty haste to Richmond, immediately after the

close of the engagement on that day. On Monday the Federal forces were ordered forward to occupy their first position, from which they had been driven on Saturday. The loss of the Rebel troops was very heavy, as the ground was covered thickly in many places with the slain and the wounded, whom they were unable to remove. The Federal loss during the battles of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks was eight hundred and ninety killed, three thousand six hundred and twenty-seven wounded, twelve hundred and twenty-two missing; making a total who were placed *hors du combat* of five thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine.\*

After the battle of Fair Oaks, the loyal community of the United States generally expected that an immediate advance would be made by the Federal army against Richmond; and it is quite probable, that if such a movement had taken place without delay, and no further time had been allowed the enemy to concentrate their troops in colossal masses around the Rebel capital, as they afterward did with extraordinary promptitude and energy, the city might have been captured and occupied with little difficulty. But such an advance of the Federal army at that moment was probably a physical impossibility. A small proportion of McClellan's troops had as yet crossed the Chickahominy; and these had been greatly weakened by two days' hard fighting. Only two or three bridges had been constructed over the stream, and these were swept away by the violent storm

\* The loss of the Rebels, according to the official report subsequently made by General J. E. Johnson, was four thousand two hundred and thirty-three, including killed, wounded, and missing. He also claimed to have captured ten pieces of artillery, six thousand stand of arms, five colors, beside a large amount of camp equipage.

and freshet which ensued the day after the battle of Fair Oaks. The Rebels had fought with heroism—with a desperation and firmness unsurpassed by any troops in modern times—filling up enormous chasms in their columns, when ploughed and shivered to pieces by the Federal guns, with the most wonderful determination and readiness. To attack such troops with sudden and imprudent haste, with inferior numbers, or at a serious disadvantage of position, would have insured the inevitable defeat and destruction of the Federal army. Richmond was defended even then by eight immense fortifications, supported by nearly a hundred thousand effective troops; and the operations intended to vanquish such formidable armaments and such resolute champions, must be executed with great deliberation and skill. Hence it is evident that the impatience for the immediate capture of the Rebel capital, which at this period pervaded the loyal community, and the censure which followed its disappointment, were based upon an ignorance of the real facts of the case, and were therefore unreasonable and unjust.

In accordance with the maxims which controlled the conduct of General McClellan, he proceeded immediately after the victory of Fair Oaks, to select his camp, form his lines, and erect his breastworks, for the purpose of making his regular approaches to Richmond. His entrenchments, after his position had been fully taken, presented a front of about fifteen miles, extending from Mechanicsville, on the extreme right, to a position at White Oak Swamp, on the extreme left. Nearly a month was destined to elapse before any further military operations of importance took place near the Rebel capital; during which interval the Federal troops were employed in the completion of their breastworks, and the Rebels in



concentrating all their available forces in the vicinity. In the meantime events of importance and interest were transpiring in other portions of the Union, to which we will now direct our attention.

The sudden and brilliant expedition of the Rebel General Jackson, by which he expelled General Banks from Virginia, and restored the supremacy of their arms in the valley of the Shenandoah, produced results of a transient and inconsiderable character. The occupation of Front Royal by the victors was very brief. They took possession of it on Saturday, the 24th of May, and on the ensuing 30th they evacuated it. This movement was the commencement of a general desertion of the valley, and of the entire expulsion of the forces of Jackson from the scene of his late remarkable successes.

After the arrival of General Banks at Williamsport, General Fremont was ordered to descend from his mountain department, and bring his troops to bear upon the enemy. Accordingly he sent forward a brigade, preceded by four companies of the Rhode Island cavalry, commanded by Major Nelson, with instructions to attack the Rebels, who held possession of Front Royal. These forces consisted of the eighth Louisiana, a portion of the twelfth Georgia regiments, and a body of cavalry. A spirited action ensued before the Rebels evacuated the place. The Federal loss was eight killed and six wounded. Eighteen Federal soldiers were retaken, who had been captured by the enemy a week previous, together with two engines, and eight cars loaded with ammunition. The loss of the Rebels in killed and wounded was severe. Then began the masterly retreat of Jackson, and the well-conducted pursuit of Fremont, through the valley of the Shenandoah. The latter left Franklin with the main body of his troops, and by rapid

marches crossed the intervening mountains, toiling over a hundred miles of difficult roads, with very limited means of transportation and subsistence. About the same period General Jackson withdrew from Winchester. Fremont pressed on toward Strasburg, which the Rebels were approaching in their full strength. Colonel Chezérut, who commanded the advance of Fremont's forces, first encountered the enemy, five miles from Strasburg, on the Winchester road. The Federals were assailed by a spirited cannonading; but when General Fremont proceeded to draw out his troops in line of battle, in anticipation of a general engagement, Jackson declined the challenge, and retreated; in the meantime holding the Federal advance in check. The Rebel general continued his retreat through Strasburg toward Woodstock, losing twenty-five prisoners in the chase which ensued. Strasburg was then occupied by General Fremont without opposition. For the purpose of ascertaining the route and position of the enemy, he ordered Colonel Figgelmenzel with a number of men to make a reconnoissance at midnight near that town. By this movement it was ascertained that Jackson's rear guard was lying in ambush a few miles beyond Strasburg, waiting for the advance of the Federal forces. They fired upon the Federal scouts as they approached, wounding three of them. The next day the pursuit was continued by the cavalry brigade, under General Bayard. Constant skirmishing took place between the pickets of both armies. The Rebels passed through Woodstock without halting. The town was then occupied by General Fremont, the Rebel army lying three miles beyond it. During this portion of the chase, though no engagement of importance occurred, several hundred Rebel prisoners were captured.

The retreat and the pursuit through the valley of the

Shenandoah continued without further incident of importance until the 8th of June. On that day the Rebels reached a position in the vicinity of Harrisonburg called Cross Keys, where an engagement took place. Colonel Windham had been ordered to advance four miles beyond that town, for the purpose of making a reconnoissance. The first New Jersey cavalry were detailed to this service. The colonel imprudently extended his march three miles further than the distance specified in his orders, and thus fell into an ambuscade which had been placed in the woods. The Rebels being posted in strong force, attacked him. A severe contest ensued. The Rebel General Ashby was conspicuous in this fight for his superior skill and daring. The Federal troops were driven back, and Colonel Wyndham was taken prisoner. The enemy were driving the New Jersey troops before them, when General Bayard was ordered to the rescue with the Bucktail regiment, the first Pennsylvania cavalry, the eighth and sixteenth Virginia regiments. The contest was then renewed, and was maintained with great spirit on both sides. The enemy were expelled from their position, with the loss of a portion of their camp equipage. The struggle was still continued with an uncertain issue. Night was approaching when General Bayard ordered Colonel Kane to proceed with the Bucktail rifles to explore the dense forest of pines to the left. This brave company, numbering about a hundred and thirty men, at once advanced toward the almost invisible enemy. They suddenly found themselves surrounded, both in front and on the flank, by a numerous body of Rebels, consisting of four regiments of cavalry, together with artillery. But the Bucktails did not flinch in this emergency, and opened their fire with deadly effect upon the serried masses around them. Their valor was vain and

fruitless against such overwhelming numbers. Their ranks were quickly thinned by the destructive attack of the foe. Their gallant commander was wounded and captured. Nothing now remained but to retreat with the wreck of their corps. This feat they performed leisurely and without precipitation, halting from time to time to return the shots of the pursuing Rebels. The loss of the Bucktails was about six killed, thirty-six wounded, ten missing; that of the remaining Federal troops was eighteen killed, forty wounded, thirty missing. The loss of the Rebels was also severe. As General Fremont did not wish at that unpropitious time to court a general engagement, his troops were withdrawn when darkness overspread the scene. In this battle General Ashby, the bold and chivalrous commander of the Rebel cavalry, was slain.

On the next day, the 9th of June, the pursuit of the enemy was continued. The Rebels were then in full retreat toward Port Republic. General Blenker commanded the left wing, General Milroy the right, General Schenck the centre of Fremont's forces. The reserve consisted of the brigades of Stahl and Bayard. The advance of the Federals was so close upon the rear guard of Jackson, that the latter had scarcely time to cross the Shenandoah to avoid capture. General Tyler commanded the advance of Shields' division, which afterward engaged the enemy. The action which ensued took place at Port Republic, seven miles beyond Harrisonburg, on the route toward Staunton. The number of Federal troops engaged was about three thousand; that of the enemy was at least eight thousand. General Jackson had posted the latter in the woods so as to outflank the Federals on the left. The batteries of Captains Clark and Robinson were first brought forward and were made to bear upon them



with effect. Several companies of skirmishers were then ordered to penetrate into the woods, to feel the enemy. The Rebels soon advanced from their retreat, and prepared to attack the Federals by a combined front and flank movement. The seventh Indiana infantry, under Colonel Gavin, were sent to the right to counteract the operations of the Rebels at that point. They were there assailed by two regiments advantageously posted under cover of the banks of the Shenandoah. So destructive was the fire of the Rebels here, that Colonel Gavin was compelled to retire. The twenty-ninth Ohio was then sent forward to support him; while the seventh Ohio was dispatched to the aid of Clarke's battery, and the fifth Ohio to the help of Huntingdon's battery. The first Virginia regiment was posted on the extreme right; and the whole of the Federal troops of General Tyler's brigade being at length in position, the battle became general. The artillery of the Rebels was served with great energy and skill. During the progress of the engagement on the right wing, the Rebel commander placed additional troops in such a position as to attack the Federal batteries posted there with immense vigor, and eventually to capture them. The seventh and fifth Ohio were afterward brought to bear upon the foe with such success that these batteries were retaken. For a short interval the heroism of the Federal troops, though fighting against a much superior force, rendered the issue of the day doubtful, and almost wrested a triumph from the inevitable victors in so unequal a struggle. But at this crisis immense reinforcements were seen crossing the river from the town of Port Republic to the aid of the Rebels; and to have encountered these also, would have been to invite destruction. General Tyler therefore gave the order to retreat. Unfortunately, it was found

impossible to remove the heavy guns, the horses being nearly all either killed or disabled; and they fell into the hands of the enemy. The Federals, however, captured one gun and sixty-seven prisoners. They retreated and the Rebels pursued, until the former approached the main body of General Shields's division; when the Rebels fled in their turn. The Federal loss on this occasion was about one hundred killed, four hundred and twenty wounded, three hundred missing. The loss of the Rebels, though its exact number is unknown to us, was also heavy. On the advance of Fremont after the battle, two hundred of their dead were counted on the field, and many had already been buried. A number of valuable Federal officers had been slain. One of the companies of the Bucktail regiment lost all its officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned. The battle of Port Republic, though desperately contested during five hours, was in reality a repulse to the Federal arms. The exposed and isolated position of the advance of General Shields, rendered the troops who belonged to it an easy prey to the overwhelming and concentrated masses of the enemy, and invited their assault under circumstances extremely unfavorable to the Union forces.

After this engagement the retreat of Jackson was continued toward Staunton, and eventually to Richmond. No engagement of any importance took place between him and the troops of General Fremont subsequent to the battle of Port Republic. On the 25th of June the armies of Fremont, McDowell, and Banks were consolidated by the President into one body, to be designated by the title of the Army of Virginia; and the chief command of it was conferred on General John Pope, the hero of New Madrid, and of Island Number Ten. By this arrangement the forces of Fremont constituted the first

army corps; those of Banks, the second; those of McDowell the third. General McCall's division, ten thousand strong, which had formed part of McDowell's corps, was transferred at once to the army under McClellan. This new arrangement, which the President had adopted for the purpose of giving greater energy and efficacy to the movements of the troops in the valley of the Shenandoah, was readily acquiesced in by Generals McDowell and Banks; but it did not meet the approbation of General Fremont. He regarded it as an act of injustice to him; as calculated to diminish his personal consequence in the service, and to injure his reputation with the community. He therefore resolved to withdraw from the service, and notified the Secretary of War of his intention to that effect. Thus ended the brief campaign of General Fremont in the valley of the Shenandoah. It cannot be affirmed that the spirit which marked the abandonment of his command in Virginia, was characterized by the same rare degree of patriotism, dignity and self-denial which had adorned his conduct when removed from his administration in Missouri. From the camp and the battle-field he retired to the repose of private life, to observe in his retreat the marvelous vicissitudes of a contest in which he had enacted, if not the first, yet an honorable part. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, that the chief glory of the career of this eminent man will always be associated with his adventures and achievements as an explorer of the untrodden solitudes of the remotest West; where he became the pioneer to discover the way to new realms, in which a youthful but mighty people could find one of the most profitable and appropriate arenas for the exercise and development of their gigantic energies. As the heroic and resolute "Pathfinder" to the golden climes of

the modern Eldorado, across the frozen precipices and through the abysmal gorges of the Rocky Mountains, his name will live, and will be justly honored on the pages of American history through many generations to come.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

PROMINENCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER IN THE EVENTS OF THE WAR—FLEET OF GUNBOATS COMMANDED BY COMMODORE DAVIS—EVACUATION OF FORT PILLOW—THE NAVAL BATTLE BEFORE MEMPHIS—RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE COMBATANTS—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—DEFEAT OF THE REBEL FLEET—COLONEL ELLET—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY—GENERAL NEGLEY'S EXPEDITION AGAINST CHATTANOOGA—COLONEL HAMBRIGHT—INCIDENTS OF THE EXPEDITION—ITS RESULTS—GENERAL MORGAN EXPELS THE REBELS FROM CUMBERLAND GAP—DISASTER TO THE FEDERAL ARMS AT JAMES ISLAND—DESCRIPTION OF THE REBEL WORKS—ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ATTACK—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT—ULTIMATE DEFEAT OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS—THEIR RETREAT—FEDERAL LOSS—GALLANTRY OF THE REBEL COMMANDER LAMAR—EXPEDITION OF COLONEL FITCH UP THE WHITE RIVER—THE ENGAGEMENT AT ST. CHARLES—HORRIBLE ACCIDENT TO THE MOUND CITY—EXECRABLE CRUELTY OF CAPTAIN FRY—CAPTURE OF THE REBEL FORTS—FINAL SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION—EXCURSION OF COLONEL HOWARD FROM NEWBERN TO SWIFT CREEK—ITS RESULTS—BOMBARDMENT OF VICKSBURG COMMENCED—PERILOUS PASSAGE OF COMMODORE FARRAGUT'S FLEET—NEW CHANNEL OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

ONE of the most brilliant pages in the history of the war against Secession, is that which records the achievements of the champions of the Union on the Mississippi river. On the great "Father of Waters" defeats and disasters, though not wholly unknown, were unfamiliar things: triumph and supremacy were the prevalent features which marked the scene. On the 6th of June, 1862, the fleet of Federal gunboats and rams commanded by Flag Officer C. H. Davis, comprising eight vessels, approached Fort Pillow, located on the banks of the Mississippi, in the vicinity of Memphis. It was the intention of the commodore to bombard the

Rebel works, which were of considerable strength, mounting six one hundred-and-twenty-eight pounders and fifteen sixty-four pounders. But the enemy evacuated the place, together with Forts Randolph and Wright, rendering an attack unnecessary. These places were then occupied by a requisite number of Federal troops.

Commodore Davis then proceeded with his fleet toward Memphis. A formidable Rebel flotilla awaited his approach. It consisted of eight gunboats which respectively bore the names of the General Bragg, the Lovell, the Jeff. Thompson, the Beauregard, General Van Dorn, the Sumter, General Price and the Little Rebel. They were commanded by Commodore Edward Montgomery. They had previously been coasting steamers, and had been converted into gunboats. They carried from two to twelve heavy guns each, which were worked *en barbette* on carriages. In the action which ensued the gunboats of Commodore Davis which were brought into action, were the flag ship Benton, the Louisville, Cairo, Saint Louis, and Carondelet. In addition to these there were four steam rams, commanded by Colonel Charles Ellet, named the Queen of the West, Monarch, Lancaster and Switzerland. During the night preceding the battle, the Rebel fleet moved down the river toward Memphis. At that time Commodore Davis lay at anchor two miles above the city. When the morning of the 6th dawned, the Rebel fleet was seen steaming up in line of battle. They were soon met by the Federal vessels in gallant style opposite Memphis. The inhabitants of that city swarmed in multitudes upon the levee, the bluff, and the roofs of the houses adjacent to the river. The stores were closed and all business suspended, during a day which was destined to witness one of the most complete defeats to the Rebel arms which had yet overtaken them.

The engagement began at half-past five in the morning. While the vessels were approaching each other Colonel Ellet ordered two rams, the Queen and the Monarch, to proceed down the river and pass between the Rebel boats and the shore. The current was strong, the river was narrow, and the enemy, from their position in fighting up stream, possessed the advantage of the steerage way. The two rams having reached the desired position, rounded to and commenced the engagement. The Queen drove with prodigious force into the General Price, one of the Rebel rams, taking her wheel completely off; and after a short exchange of shots the latter sank. Soon afterward the Queen was herself run into by the Beauregard, and being struck on the wheel-house with tremendous violence was severely disabled. The Monarch then approached the Beauregard, and saluted her with a ferocious butt in the bow, which completely disabled her. She subsequently sank; though her crew were rescued by the timely interposition of the Little Rebel. The Benton and the Lovell then came into action. The fifty-pound Parrott guns of the former produced an immense effect on her antagonist. She was raked fore and aft, some of the shots penetrating her sides. In five minutes her boilers exploded, and the most horrible spectacle was presented to view. Her crew, scalded, suffocated, and suffering the intensest agonies, rushed upon deck and filled the air with their frantic screams, praying for help. The vessel immediately began to sink, and it was with difficulty that a yawl, sent from the Benton, was able to take off a few of the sufferers, before she went down in a hundred feet of water. Nearly all her crew were drowned; and their last exclamations of terror and despair mingled with the seething and bubbling sound of the waves, as she descended forever from view.

The remainder of the Rebel flotilla had thus far been engaged at long range. The Beauregard had been completely riddled with shot; was rapidly becoming unmanageable; was filling with water; and was drifting helplessly toward the shore. She eventually sank upon a shoal to her decks. The Little Rebel was struck by two shots upon her upper works; she was then run ashore by her commander, abreast of President's Island, and was eventually abandoned by her crew. Disasters now came thickly upon the rest of the vessels of the enemy. By this time the Jeff. Thompson was on fire; and the flames soon gained such headway that it was impossible to extinguish them. The fiery tongues of the destroying element ran hither and thither over her whole extent, enveloping every portion of it. Soon her wheel-houses disappeared, then her chimney fell overboard, tearing with it a portion of her deck; at length her magazine exploded. The concussion shook the earth, uprolled the tranquil bosom of the Mississippi in multitudinous billows, and filled the air with hundreds of flying shells. At last nothing remained of the once formidable vessel except a few blackened and charred timbers, which leisurely floated away in fragments on the surface of the river. The Sumter now became disabled by the steady and destructive shot of the Federal boats, and was drifted ashore at the foot of President's Island. There she was abandoned. The General Bragg, unable any longer to continue the contest, retreated down the river, and was run ashore about three miles below Memphis. She was also abandoned by the Rebels. When the Federal victors from the Benton boarded her, they found twice the ordinary pressure of steam upon her boiler; thus proving the evident intention, on the part of her late occupants when leaving, to blow her to atoms. A prize



crew was then placed on board, the stars and stripes were unfurled, and she was towed to an anchorage at Memphis. About the same time, a shot penetrated the boiler of the active and dauntless Little Rebel. It exploded, and she was at once completely disabled. She started to reach the Arkansas shore, but was overhauled and taken. Thus the entire fleet of the enemy was either captured or destroyed, in an engagement which did not continue longer than an hour and a half, with the single exception of the flag-ship Van Dorn. This vessel, in consequence of her superior speed, being fleetier than the Federal gunboats, made her escape. She was pursued eight miles below Memphis, where the futile chase was relinquished. A more complete and wholesale defeat could scarcely be imagined, than that which had thus overtaken this famous Mississippi flotilla. Its commander Commodore Montgomery, with most of his officers and some of his men, succeeded in making their escape to the forests on the Arkansas shore. Their loss in killed and wounded was heavy, probably not less than a hundred. The Federal loss was comparatively light. Commodore Ellet, the brave commander of the Union rams, was wounded during the action by a pistol shot in the leg. It was a singular fact that he alone, of all the Union soldiers in this engagement, should have been struck by the enemy; and that he should afterward expire from the combined effect of the wound, general exhaustion, and unskillful treatment. Among the Federal vessels, the Queen of the West had been the most severely disabled. Her machinery was so terribly jarred by the vigorous butting of the Rebel rams, as to be unable to move, and she was towed to her anchorage after the termination of the battle.

Immediately after the engagement the victorious fleet

steamed up to the landing at Memphis. Commodore Davis then dispatched a messenger to John Parke, the mayor of the city, informing him that he had taken possession of the place, that he would put it under military authority, and that he desired his coopération in the preservation of order. To this communication Mayor Parke responded, that the municipal authorities of Memphis possessed no means of resistance, and that he would be happy to comply with the request of Commodore Davis, and assist him in the preservation of peace and order. A portion of the Federal troops were subsequently quartered in the city, the national colors were unfurled from the public buildings, and the supremacy of the Federal Government again established in one of the chief marts of Tennessee. The ultimate consequences of this victory were very important. It assisted materially in clearing the Mississippi of the presence and the power of the Rebel gunboats. With the single exception of Vicksburg, every other stronghold of the foe on that great river had now been removed; the conquest of Vicksburg alone was necessary to complete the triumph; and by this means one of the chief arteries of the body of the Rebel Confederacy would be effectually severed. It was confidently expected that that desirable result would be accomplished at an early period.

Other triumphs to the Federal arms occurred, nearly at the same time, on the soil of Tennessee. The Rebels had erected strong batteries at Chattanooga, a flourishing town in Hamilton county, a hundred and forty miles southeast of Nashville. It was the eastern terminus of the railroad from the capital of the State and the point of connection with the railways of Georgia. It was also a valuable shipping point for Middle and Eastern Tennessee. General Mitchell, appreciating the importance

of the position, determined to attack it with one of those brilliant and sudden assaults by which he had already distinguished himself. He entrusted the execution of his enterprise on this occasion to General Negley. Chattanooga being situated on the Tennessee river, at the head of the light draught navigation, commanding the mountain region in East Tennessee, being also a great railway centre, and being directly connected by them with Western Virginia and even with Richmond, fully justified the risks which were run to attain its possession, and to wrest it from the occupancy of the enemy.

Starting forth from the camp of General Mitchell at Huntsville in Alabama, Colonel Hambright, under the orders of General Negley, rapidly approached Chattanooga, routing and dispersing on his way a body of Rebel cavalry, commanded by General Adams. On the 7th of June he commenced an attack on the batteries of the enemy at that place. After a vigorous cannonading of three hours duration they were silenced and evacuated. On the next day the town was shelled. In six hours the Rebels were driven from all their works, and were forced to evacuate the place entirely. As they retired they burned the railroad bridges, in order to prevent the pursuit of the Federal victors. Eighty prisoners were taken. A large number of horses and cattle, intended for the Rebel service, were also captured. The Rebel works were completely destroyed, and the place unfitted for future hostile operations. This conquest relieved the loyal citizens of that vicinity from the heavy yoke of the Rebel authorities which had so long galled them, and confirmed their attachment to their legitimate government. It wrested from the enemy all the advantages which the possession of the town had given them, from its peculiar position as the great railroad centre, to

which we have already referred. After this achievement General Negley returned to camp with the trophies of his victory. His loss was two killed, seven wounded, three missing.

The advantages thus gained were increased in Tennessee on the 17th of June, when General Morgan advanced toward Cumberland Gap for the purpose of attacking and expelling the Rebel Generals Stevenson and Smith, who occupied it with thirteen thousand men. This gap is a cleft in the Cumberland Mountains, which run from the northeast to the southwest through the State; and it is so deep and so narrow that there is room through the gap for only a single roadway. The Rebels had fortified it with great assiduity. Its importance as an entrance to Eastern Tennessee justified their efforts in reference to it. It was expected that they would defend its possession with the utmost tenacity. No such result followed. When the Rebel leaders were informed of the approach of the Union force under General Morgan, they evacuated the place. They left several hundred tents standing, and they threw vast quantities of their projectiles over the cliffs into the yawning ravines below. Their mortar guns were spiked and their carriages mutilated. After thus rendering what they left behind them as useless as possible, the whole force retreated. The Gap was then occupied by the Federal troops, another avenue of communication was opened between the loyal citizens of Eastern and Western Tennessee, and another stronghold of the Rebels destroyed.

From these successes in the interior of the country, we turn to view the operations of the Federal arms on the Atlantic seaboard. There the tide of fortune turned against the Federal arms, and a disastrous defeat over-



took them in the vicinity of the renowned hotbed of rebellion.

On the 16th of June General Benham, the second in command under General Hunter in the Department of the South, attacked the works which the Rebels had erected on James Island, in the neighborhood of Charleston; and was ignominiously repulsed with heavy losses. The enemy had constructed a line of defenses running across this island, together with a fort and an observatory, in such a position as to enable them to overlook the operations of the Federal commanders. The purpose of General Benham was also to destroy a floating battery which had been anchored near Secessionville, and which, together with the works already named, presented serious obstacles to the further advance of the Federal forces toward Charleston and Fort Johnson. Secessionville was a small village, the summer resort of a few of the planters who resided on James Island. Its location is on the eastern side of the island, on the high bank of a creek which passes through the marshes of James and Morris Islands, and empties into the Stone river near its mouth. Five hundred yards south of Secessionville Colonel Lamar had erected a battery, flanked on its sides by the marsh and the creek. The Rebel troops posted here consisted of several companies of the Charleston Light Infantry, and of the Charleston Battalion, with large detachments of the South Carolina volunteers, making in all about five thousand men. The Federal force selected to assault the works consisted of three brigades commanded by Generals Stevens, Wright, and Williams, comprising about three thousand five hundred men. The attack was commenced by General Stevens, whose troops consisted of the Michigan eighth, the Connecticut sixth and seventh, and the Massachusetts twenty-

eighth regiments, supported by a battery of four guns. The Michigan eighth led the van, and suffered more severely than any of their associates. The assault began at break of day. The Rebel pickets were driven in; and a rapid advance was then made toward the fort. In effecting this movement the Federals encountered an open battery of three guns, which were posted about a hundred yards in front of the entrenchments. The Rebels were driven from these pieces, which were captured. It was evident that the occupants of the entrenchments had been taken completely by surprise; but they were quickly aroused from their slumbers, and received the assailants with the utmost resolution.

In the engagement which ensued, General Wright's brigade supported General Stevens on the left, while General Williams was ordered to make a flank movement to the right, and from that quarter to join in the attack. As it was suspected that masked batteries were concealed in the woods in this direction, General Williams was advised to execute the movement with caution; but he ordered his men to advance rapidly without taking any measures against surprise. The result was that, as soon as his forces reached their desired position at the side of the fort, a powerful battery opened upon them from an opposite direction, which, together with the fire in their front, produced a deadly effect. The fighting on both sides now became fierce and desperate. The works were surrounded by deep ditches, and surmounted by high parapets. The eighth Michigan and New York seventy-ninth assailed the fortifications in front with dauntless heroism. They succeeded in filling the ditch, and constructed a causeway at one point, under the close and heavy firing of the enemy. Repeated onsets were then made, and determined strug-

gles took place to storm the works; but though often on the verge of success, the Federals were as often repulsed and driven back by the indomitable resistance of the enemy. It is probable indeed, that if, at one time during the contest in front, a judicious and vigorous coöperative movement had been made on the flank, the assault might have been successful; but such was not the case. The Rebels were effectually aided in their defense by the firing from Fort Johnson, which was located at some distance to the right. Many of the gunners in the fort were killed; especially when, after being repulsed from the attack in front, the Federal troops drew off and renewed the assault on the right flank. There three regiments deployed in line of battle, and being partially protected by a growth of underbrush, poured into the fort a continuous and deadly fire, at the distance of a hundred and fifty yards. Some of the gun-carriages in the entrenchments were perforated by their balls. This assault might have proved more successful, had not the Louisiana battalion, commanded by McHenry, come to the rescue, formed on the right facing the marsh, and opened their fire upon their assailants with such effect that the latter were compelled to recede after suffering heavy losses. Another desperate attempt was made to carry the works by passing further out to the westward, and attacking the fort directly in the rear. But this intention was also defeated by the stubborn and resolute resistance made by the Eutaw regiment.

At length it became evident that the assault was a total failure, and a general retreat was ordered. The third New Hampshire troops were the last to leave the disastrous field, and narrowly escaped being captured by several regiments of South Carolina. Two Federal gunboats which then lay in the Stone river were unable to

render much assistance, in consequence of their remote position; but during the retreat, in attempting to shell the pursuing Rebels, they did nearly as much damage to their allies as to their foes. The entire enterprise was a most miserable disaster. Scarcely so great a military abortion had been perpetrated by any other Federal commander during the entire war. General Benham was afterward summoned to Washington to explain and justify his conduct. The total loss of the Federal forces in killed, wounded, and missing, was five hundred and twenty-nine. This large number demonstrated that the Federal soldiers had fought with the courage and determination which usually characterized them; and that their defeat was the result of causes which they could not possibly control, and for which they were not in the least degree responsible. In this action the Rebel Colonel Lamar was wounded. He had exhibited a degree of valor and skill which would have conferred honor upon a much nobler cause, than that in defense of which he had expended it. The effect of this misfortune on the minds of the loyal community was extremely discouraging; inasmuch as they regarded Charleston and the Rebel works in its vicinity with peculiar repugnance, as being the real centre and effective source of a rebellion which had inflicted so many and such great calamities on the nation.

On the 12th of June an expedition was sent from Memphis under the orders of Colonel Fitch, for the purpose of sailing up the White river as far as Jacksonport, and conveying supplies and ammunition to the army of General Curtis. It was understood that the Rebels had placed obstructions in the stream, and that they had erected fortifications at St. Charles, an insignificant village about eighty-two miles above its junction with



the Mississippi. The expedition consisted of four iron-clad gunboats, namely: the flag-ship Mound City, the St. Louis, Lexington, and Conestoga, with the armed tug Spitfire, and three transports. The land force on board consisted of the forty-sixth Indiana regiment. The first success of the expedition was the capture of a new and valuable Rebel steamer, the Clara Dolsen. The second and more important achievement was the attack and reduction of the works which had been constructed at St. Charles.

It was on the 17th of June that the fleet, having proceeded slowly about eighty miles up the White river, suddenly encountered the batteries which the enemy had erected. These were so concealed in the thick forest and brushwood on the Arkansas shore, that their position could only be conjectured from the direction of their shot. As the Union fleet approached, the Rebels commenced to fire upon them. Their guns were not very heavy, but they were aimed with more than ordinary precision. Two shots struck the casemates of the St. Louis. The Mound City, being in the lead up the stream, which at this point is narrow though deep, immediately returned the fire. She was soon followed by the St. Louis and Conestoga. As the works of the Rebels consisted of two distinct batteries, the Mound City proceeded past the first toward the second, half a mile distant. Both were situated on a high bluff. As the Mound City advanced the second battery opened its fire upon her, to which she promptly responded. While the engagement was progressing between the gunboats and the forts, Colonel Fitch landed about five hundred men from the transports, on the southern shore of the river, for the purpose of attacking the works in the rear. Having reached the proper position, he signalled to the gunboats

to suspend their fire, as it might injure his own men, and he felt able to take the forts by a land assault. At that moment one of the most horrible catastrophes occurred which the mind of man can conceive, and to which few parallels can be found in the bloody annals of war. A ball from the enemy, cylindrical in shape, armed with iron flanges on each side, known as a "pigeon shot," struck the Mound City on the casemate on her port side, near the first gun. It came at an angle of ninety degrees. It passed through the casemate and severed the connecting pipe of the boilers. Instantly the steam rushed with the rapidity of lightning into every part of the vessel below, which was crowded with the crew, a hundred and seventy-five in number, who had descended from the deck to avoid the shells of the enemy. The horrors of the scene which immediately ensued transcended all powers of description. The hot vapor burnt and withered in a moment the mass of living victims, inflicting instant death upon some, and upon the rest, agonies far more terrible than death. Forty-five expired instantly. The remainder, scalded to a crimson hue, screamed and groaned, writhing with intense suffering. They rushed simultaneously toward the portholes. Maddened and frantic with their insupportable torments they threw themselves into the river. Soon seventy or eighty persons were struggling in the water. At that awful moment, when common humanity would have dictated even among savages a cessation of the contest, the Rebels continued to fire upon the drowning wretches, as with desperation they strove to reach the land. Very few succeeded in doing so. Out of a hundred and seventy-five, who but a few moments before were in vigorous life, scarcely thirty escaped. Captain Fry, the commander of the Rebels, ordered his sharp-

shooters to distribute themselves along the shore, and to pick off the exhausted fugitives as they approached. This diabolical command was obeyed with an eagerness of cruelty such as would have disgraced a Fejee islander. The chief officer of the Conestoga promptly lowered his boats, and endeavored to rescue those who were yet alive. As soon as these emissaries of mercy came within range, they were also fired upon by the enemy. Both the gigs were struck, but fortunately were not sunk; and they succeeded in saving some from a watery grave.

In the meantime the Federal troops on shore had reached the Rebel works; and having witnessed the scene enacted upon the river, assaulted the enemy with a commendable and intensified degree of enthusiasm. They soon charged upon them with the bayonet. A brief but desperate resistance was made. In a short time, however, the two forts were carried and occupied by the Federals. The enemy then fled toward St. Charles. Their entire force consisted of five hundred men. Of these fifty were captured; about a hundred were killed and wounded; the rest escaped. Among the prisoners was Captain Fry, the commander of the Rebels. He had formerly been an officer in the Federal service. The indignation of the Union troops against him was so intense, that it was with difficulty that Colonel Fitch could preserve his life from their assaults, by extending to him a clemency and a protection which he did not deserve. Except for the calamity on the Mound City, the expedition would have had unmixed success. In the end, nearly a hundred persons died in consequence of the terrible accident which had occurred. In a few days the Federal fleet resumed its progress up the White River; the obstructions in the stream were removed; and

it eventually reached its destination without any further opposition or casualty.

Among the minor movements which took place in different portions of the field of conflict, to which a brief allusion may be made, was one which, about this period, set forth from Newbern under Colonel Howard, for the purpose of expelling the roving bands of the Rebels from the peninsula which intervenes between the Neuse and the Pamlico rivers. The expedition consisted of the seventeenth Massachusetts, part of the Third New York cavalry, and a detachment of the Marine Artillery, with eight guns. These troops were placed on board the steamers Union, Allison, the Highland Light, and the gunboat Picket. Scarcely had these vessels sailed four miles up the Neuse, when they grounded on a bar, and their progress was stopped. General Foster was then informed by a messenger of the disaster which had occurred. He immediately sent the steamers Pilot Boy and Alice Price to the rescue. After some delay the vessels were relieved, and proceeded up the stream as far as Swift Creek, at which point the enemy were reported to have erected some breastworks, and to have made it the centre of their raids in the vicinity. The troops were disembarked, and so completely were the Rebels taken by surprise, that several of them were captured. The seventeenth Massachusetts, commanded by Colonel Fellows, then led the advance, and occupied Swift Creek village. Colonel Howard took possession of the bridge and shelled the Rebels, whose breastworks of shingle lay on the opposite side of the stream. A few shot were returned by the foe, when the order was given to the Federal forces to charge. The enemy did not await the onset. As the Union troops approached they abandoned their entrenchments in dismay, and fled through the



woods in all directions. Their running was so much better than their fighting, that only two prisoners were taken, although a vigorous pursuit was made. On examination the works were found to be insignificant, and they could have presented little resistance to the Federal guns. After this easy conquest the troops returned to Newbern. The effect produced by the expedition upon the Rebels in the vicinity was beneficial; as their excursions in that portion of the country, in small detached companies, thenceforth terminated.

The Federal commanders on the Mississippi continued their operations for the purpose of opening the navigation of that great commercial artery, with the most commendable energy and ability. Vicksburg now alone remained, throughout its whole extent, in the possession of the enemy. The situation of this city was remarkable. It is built on the eastern bank of the river, on a considerable elevation. Steep bluffs exist both above and below it, whose height above the level of the stream is nearly a hundred feet. The Rebels had erected strong batteries in the vicinity of the town; and their position was such, that the guns of the besieging vessels could not be brought to bear with much effect upon them, while they, from their superior elevation, possessed every advantage. In other respects also the situation of the place was peculiar. At this point the Mississippi makes an abrupt bend, in shape not unlike a horse-shoe; inclosing within its embrace a strip of land little more than half a mile in width. At the extremity of this bend the city is built. These topographical oddities suggested to the minds of the Federal commanders, at a later period, the expedient of cutting a canal across this peninsula, thus opening a new channel for the river, and setting back the city several miles from the margin of the

stream which was the source of its opulence, the avenue of its commerce, and the chief implement of its resistance to the Federal Government.

On the 21st of June Captain Porter, belonging to the fleet of Commodore Davis, who was then above Vicksburg, made a reconnoissance in the Octarora, for the purpose of ascertaining the best position at which his flotilla might be anchored. General Van Dorn commanded the Rebel forces at this place. These numbered eighteen thousand men. Having accomplished his purpose Captain Porter returned to his station. Commodore Davis then prepared to approach the city and commence the bombardment. On Thursday, the 26th of June, a formidable fleet consisting of about forty vessels of all descriptions, including transports, appeared before Vicksburg.\* An attack was immediately commenced which was chiefly directed against the fortifications on the bluff below the town. The Rebel batteries responded with spirit. The firing continued during the whole day, and ceased only at the approach of night. On the next day it was resumed. In the afternoon the order was given to shell the town. Then the water batteries of the enemy responded, and the contest was kept up during the rest of the day. At night all the Federal captains

\* The fleet of Commodore Porter consisted of the following vessels of war: Octarora, flag-ship, Geo. Brown Executive Officer; Westfield, Commander W. B. Benham; Harriet Lane, J. M. Wainwright; Clifton, C. H. Baldwin; Miami, A. D. Harrell; Onasco, John Guest; J. P. Jackson, S. E. Woodworth. Commanding divisions of the mortar flotilla were Lieutenant Watson Smith, commanding first division; Lieutenant W. W. Green, commanding second division; Lieutenant R. R. Breese, commanding third division. The vessels composing the squadron of Commodore Davis were the Benton, Carondelet, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Those of Commodore Farragut, were the Hartford Brooklyn, Sciota, Oneida, Pinola, and the gunboats.

of divisions were summoned to meet the commander on his flag-ship. They there received directions to resume the fire upon the city during that night, from all their mortars; and to continue the bombardment until further orders. Accordingly, at the appointed moment the entire fleet of mortars, twenty in number, commenced the deadly music of their assault. The scene which ensued was extremely grand and imposing. The sound of the guns resembled a continuous peal of thunder; and the loud reverberations seemed to emulate the most furious discharges of heaven's artillery. The repeated explosions of the shells illuminated the midnight heavens far and near with incessant flashes of lurid light. The earth and river shook with the terrible concussions. The enormous shells, as they descended upon the doomed city, appeared like messengers of destruction from some distant and hostile sphere. Soon the city was in flames in various places; and after the lapse of an hour the order was given to suspend the bombardment. On the next day Commodore Farragut, who lay five miles below Vicksburg with his fleet of wooden vessels, sent word to the commander of the mortars above, that if he would engage the forts on the following morning before daylight, he would attempt to pass the batteries on the bluff and unite their fleets. The suggestion was complied with, and his entire flotilla, consisting of three men-of-war, two sloops-of-war, and three gunboats, succeeded in making the passage during the bombardment. The flag-ship of the commodore was struck twice in the hull, suffering some damage. The other vessels escaped serious injury. This action lasted an hour and thirty minutes. Its result convinced the Federal commanders that however much their shot might injure the town, it would be impossible to capture or destroy the batteries

which lined the bluffs, without the assistance of a land force. The entire fleet then proceeded a short distance above Vicksburg and anchored. The mere destruction of the town alone would have been barren of results. Commodore Farragut therefore resolved to reopen the navigation of the Mississippi, which was the chief matter in dispute, by digging a new channel across the peninsula already described, named Cross-bend, thereby leaving Vicksburg at a harmless and impotent distance from the passing stream. Hundreds of negroes were immediately impressed from the adjoining plantations, and set to work in digging. This novel undertaking would require to be half a mile in length, about fifty feet in width, and eight feet below the water level. The chief disadvantage which attended the enterprise was the fact that, at that period, the water of the river was falling instead of rising. During the engagement before the town, and in the passage of the fleet of Commodore Farragut, the Federal loss was fifteen killed and thirty wounded. That of the Rebels was severe among the troops of Van Dorn, who then occupied Vicksburg. Leaving the Federal commanders and their difficult enterprise at that city, which was still in an inchoate condition, we will turn our attention to the more important but not very felicitous events, which at this period transpired in the vicinity of the Rebel capital.



## CHAPTER XXV

THE ENTRENCHMENTS OF THE FEDERAL ARMY BEFORE RICHMOND—THEIR EXTENT—INACTIVITY OF THE FEDERAL FORCES—CONCENTRATION OF REBEL TROOPS IN RICHMOND—GLOWING EXPECTATIONS OF THE LOYAL COMMUNITY—THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT—THE TRANSFER OF MCCLELLAN'S BASE OF SUPPLIES AND OPERATIONS TO HARRISON'S LANDING—FIRST ATTACK OF THE REBELS ON HIS TROOPS AT MECHANICSVILLE—INCIDENTS OF THE BATTLE—COMMENCEMENT OF THE MARCH TOWARD THE JAMES RIVER—BATTLE OF GAINES MILL—DESPERATE FIGHTING—HEROISM AND VALOR ON BOTH SIDES—VICISSITUDES OF THE STRUGGLE—THE RETREAT CONTINUED TOWARD JAMES RIVER—DISPOSAL OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED—PERTINACIOUS PURSUIT BY THE REBELS—SINGULAR CARAVAN OF WAGONS, CATTLE, AND FUGITIVES—BATTLE OF PEACH ORCHARD—ITS RESULTS—BATTLE AT SAVAGE'S STATION—RESOLUTE ASSAULTS OF THE ENEMY—APPALLING SCENES—IMPORTANT RESULTS—THE RACE TO WHITE OAK SWAMP—THE FEDERAL TROOPS WIN THE RACE.

AFTER the battle of Fair Oaks, which occurred on the first of June, 1862, the Federal army under General McClellan proceeded to assume its position before Richmond, to dig trenches and erect breastworks, and to prepare for a final assault upon the city. This magnificent army consisted, when it first arrived before Yorktown, of a hundred and twenty thousand men. Subsequently the divisions of General Franklin containing twelve thousand, of General McCall numbering ten thousand, and a detachment from Baltimore and Fortress Monroe including eleven thousand, were added to it. Thus the entire number of Federal troops who had marched to the conquest of Richmond, formed a magnificent array of about a hundred and fifty thousand men.

The line of redoubts and entrenchments which they erected and occupied as they lay before the city, extended nearly fifteen miles, in the form of a colossal crescent, the right extremity reaching to the Meadow Bridge at Hanover, the left resting upon Long Bridge at Henrico. Portions of this immense line were within view of Richmond, whose tapering spires and swelling domes were visible in the distance. The most efficient and numerous array of the nation, its pride and hope, after many months of assiduous preparation and of mysterious delay, had at length reached the goal of their aspirations. The heart of this pestilent Rebellion lay directly before them. The last deadly blow at its pernicious life was anxiously expected from day to day by millions of patriots; when suddenly all was deranged by the new exigencies of the occasion, and by the unquestionable vigor, valor, and skill of the Rebel commanders who defended the city.

During the long interval which elapsed between the battle of Fair Oaks and the first attack made on the Federal troops on the 26th of June, a large portion of the army which General Beauregard had unaccountably withdrawn from Corinth, was transferred to Richmond. General Jackson's force in the valley of the Shenandoah had also been summoned thither. It is probable therefore that, at length, a hundred and fifty thousand Rebel troops had been concentrated in the vicinity of that city. These were the chief strength and glory of the apostate community whom they represented; and thus two nations were in reality to be the contestants on that far extending and sanguinary field. One of the decisive battles of the world, at the occurrence of which the great horologe of time tolls out the extinction of an expiring age, and the birth of a new and a more glorious era, seemed now to be impending.

Unfortunately for the interests of the Federal cause, it became necessary, just at that period, for General McClellan to change the entire base of his operations, in consequence of the unfitness and insecurity of his source or avenue of supplies at White House. This place was located on the Pamunky, a tributary stream of the York river, some fifteen miles in the rear of the Federal position. Its remote and isolated situation rendered it possible for the enemy at any time to intercept General McClellan's communications with it, which were maintained by means of the Richmond and York river railroad. It was constantly necessary to employ nearly a whole division of troops in guarding this road from the assaults of the Rebels, which had recently become more frequent and determined. The large number of Federal soldiers who had either died or had become unfit for duty, from diseases contracted in the swamps of the Chickahominy, through which a portion of their camps and entrenchments lay, and the increased superiority in numbers of the Rebel forces, rendered the continual defense of this line of communication both difficult and perilous. These considerations eventually convinced General McClellan of the necessity of receding from his position before Richmond, to a more secure and convenient one at Harrison's Landing, on James river. Preliminary to commencing this retrograde movement, he made the proper arrangements for reshipping the vast stores of subsistence and ammunition which had been accumulated at White House, and transferring them by means of the fleet of Federal transports, to his newly selected *dépôt*. The order for the removal was issued about the 24th of June. It was executed between that date and the 28th. It was doubtless the novel and mysterious movement which was thus commenced, of

which the Rebels obtained early intelligence, which induced them to venture on offensive operations, and to begin that extraordinary series of engagements which, during a whole week, raged with such destructive fury near the Rebel capital.

It was about ten o'clock on the 26th of June, that the Rebel forces issued in vast multitudes from their camps before Richmond, and commenced their bold and desperate assaults upon the Federal army. Their first demonstration was an attack on the cavalry commanded by General Stoneman, which were posted in the vicinity of Hanover Court House, on the extreme right. While this operation was progressing, they extended their assault to the troops stationed nearest to these, which were posted in the vicinity of Mechanicsville. They crossed the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge, above that town, with the evident intention of turning the right wing of the Federal forces. The troops placed here were the eighth Illinois cavalry, six companies of the Bucktail regiment, and five companies of the Pennsylvania Reserves. These were protected by rifle-pits and breastworks. As soon as the assault of the enemy began, their vast numbers, which appeared to swarm inexhaustibly in front and around the Federal lines, clearly proved that an attempt at resistance by so small a corps would be wholly useless. General Reynolds immediately dispatched a messenger to General McCall for reinforcements. During the interval which occurred before these could arrive, the Federals made a firm resistance; and the Bucktails maintained their position with such obstinacy, that a large number of them were captured. About two o'clock the engagement became more general and more desperate. While advancing down by the rear of Mechanicsville, through low, swampy ground,



the enemy were attacked by the Federals from the cover of their rifle-pits and earthworks with immense effect. A scene of great carnage and tumult ensued. Many of their men and horses sank in the mire, and became helpless targets for the Federal sharpshooters. By this time the action had spread along the line toward the left, and the troops of General McCall having been attacked, now engaged the enemy.

A vigorous contest then took place, which occupied the remainder of the afternoon of the 26th. In vain the Rebels, advancing repeatedly with great resolution, endeavored to drive the Federals from their position. The latter remained immovable. At six o'clock, apparently becoming desperate at the want of success, the Rebels brought fresh troops to bear upon the assault, and the battle perceptibly increased in fury. At that period General Morell's division arrived opportunely on the field as a reinforcement. The second brigade of this division was called into immediate action. It was ordered to relieve the centre of General McCall's column. The fourth Michigan, the fourteenth New York volunteers, the sixty-second Pennsylvania, and the ninth Massachusetts, together with a battalion of Berdan's sharpshooters, were drawn up in line of battle. The struggle which followed was well sustained and desperate on both sides. It continued without any advantage to either party, till half-past nine o'clock. The loss of the enemy during this period must have been very heavy; as they were confronted by the Federal forces while protected in a great measure by their rifle-pits and breastworks. All their efforts to dislodge the latter proved fruitless. Late in the day they made a furious charge with cavalry. They were met by a squadron of Federal horse, and driven back; many of their horses sticking fast in the

marsh, and being abandoned by their riders. General Fitz John Porter, who commanded the entire corps to which the divisions engaged on this day belonged, was present in every part of the field, and was ably assisted by Generals McCall, Morell, and Griffin. During the whole battle the artillery on both sides did the chief execution. Easton's Pennsylvania battery was particularly effective. At some periods the firing shook the earth, and the rapidity of the discharges indicated a most furious combat. At seven o'clock the enemy made a special effort to break the centre of the Federal troops engaged. This effort was confronted and defeated with great gallantry by General Griffin. The Pennsylvania Reserves on the left, commanded by Seymour and Reynolds, also fought with much heroism; and succeeded in defeating the attempts of the Rebels to cross the bridge over the Chickahominy. Thus, when the close of the first day's fight arrived, the enemy had really gained nothing and had lost heavily. But they were not disheartened. They had merely made a beginning of the gigantic enterprise which they had conceived, and were resolute in its prosecution to a successful issue.

During the night which ensued, orders were given to commence the removal of the camp equipage, the stores, and the ammunition of the Federal army toward the James river. Soon, long trains of wagons, several thousand in number, began their slow line of march, extending for miles in the direction indicated. The sick and wounded were also conveyed, some toward White House, some toward Harrison's Landing. General Porter had been ordered to withdraw his forces from their recent position, nearer to the river. While these movements were progressing in the Federal camp, the Rebels were not idle. Immense reinforcements were promptly brought

forward. The early dawn of the next day, the 27th of June, beheld sixty thousand Rebels under arms, ready to renew the assault. The Federals had gained some slight repose during the night; and though wearied, and about to be assailed by superior numbers, were undaunted by the impending terrors of their situation. General Porter had received orders to fall back to a position two miles beyond Gaines' Mill. In obeying this order General Sykes' division led the retreating column. Next came the division of General Morell. During the march perfect order was maintained; but the enemy, mistaking the movement for a hasty flight, pressed forward in enormous masses, overtook the Federals near Gaines' Mill, and there resumed the assault upon them. Their advance had been temporarily impeded by the destruction of the bridge at the Mill. But soon they constructed a temporary causeway by which their artillery was conveyed over, and the pursuit of the Federals was renewed. As their retreat was made at an unhurried and leisurely pace, it was not long before they were overtaken by the eager enemy.

Then ensued the bloody action of Gaines' Mill. The scene of this conflict was an extensive area, about two miles in length, and one mile in breadth. This space was made up of green meadows, waving grain fields, thick woods, boggy marshes and rude ravines. Several farm houses existed within its limits, which were afterward used as hospitals. General Porter had been ordered to engage the advancing foe, if he were attacked, in this position. Accordingly at eleven o'clock all was ready to receive them; each division, each brigade, each regiment, and each gun had then been placed in its proper position. Along the far extending lines at proper intervals the immortal banners of the Republic appeared in view, waving

majestically and gracefully in the breeze, and bidding defiance to the approaching host. Bright guns in endless succession flashed in the morning light. The long ranks of Federal troops presented a firm and dauntless front. Generals with their staffs were seen riding rapidly from regiment to regiment, giving orders and perfecting their positions. After a short interval of silence and expectation the sudden roar of the enemy's artillery, and the falling and bursting of their shells, gave evidence that they had recommenced the contest.

The first firing came from the woods and from the roads on the right. The Federal cannon instantly thundered in reply at the still invisible enemy. At length, after a considerable period of time had been expended in this manner, masses of the Rebels emerged from the woods, deployed into positions in front of the Federal lines, and the engagement became general. It was fiercely contested on both sides. Several desperate attempts were made by the enemy to break through the Federal lines on the right and on the left; but they were met in every instance with the unflinching firmness of veterans, and were invariably repulsed with heavy losses to the assailants.

The battle continued to rage during the whole day, with the usual vicissitudes which characterize engagements in which brave men contend for the mastery with equal degrees of resolution and obstinacy. As evening approached, the energy of the attack of the Rebels diminished, and a sudden lull occurred; but after a short respite the contest was renewed by them with greater fury than before. It then became evident that, during this mysterious interval, the enemy had been largely reinforced. Their troops now rushed forward in overwhelming masses with savage and frantic yells. With answer-



ing shouts the two armies approached each other, and dealt their death-blows upon their opposing ranks with increased ferocity. The combat now became most desperate and sanguinary. The Federals performed many deeds of the noblest daring and fortitude; but soon the superior energy and vigor which portions of the Confederate columns exhibited, demonstrated that they had the advantage not merely of a preponderance of numbers, but also of physical freshness. It was well that, at this critical moment, the Federals received some reinforcements from the other side of the Chickahominy. They consisted of the brigades of Generals Palmer, French and Meagher, with some cavalry. These Irish regiments, as was their usual custom, went into the fight with their coats off, and their sleeves rolled up; and fought the exultant traitors with the fury and ferocity of tigers. Hundreds of Rebels then bit the dust, laid low forever by the stalwart blows of the gallant and pugnacious sons of Erin.

The carnage was still progressing all over the widespread field, when the sun disappeared in the western heavens, and the shadows of night were about to descend upon the tumultuous and sanguinary scene. The enemy had repeatedly endeavored to force the Federals into the low, marshy tract lying between Gaines' Mill and the bridge. To have been driven into that perilous position, would have insured the destruction of a large number of troops; for it was impassable ground, and would have proved the weltering grave of thousands. At one time the Rebels had nearly succeeded in this undertaking. It was when the danger here was most imminent, that the wild rush and determined assault of the Irish regiments saved that portion of the army from destruction. During the progress of the day several partial panics had

occurred, and some rapid and frantic running to the rear had been achieved, by frightened fragments of the Federal forces. But the vast majority of them fought nobly and well. About forty thousand Union troops took part in this battle. In addition to those composing the corps of General Fitz John Porter, the divisions of Generals Hooker, Kearney, and Sumner were also engaged. The number of Rebels who figured in the contest was at least sixty thousand, as has already been stated; and a large portion of these were fresh troops, who were substituted from time to time for those who had become wearied during the progress of the struggle. Notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, at the close of the day the Federals had not been driven from their position. The main body were still in their first lines near Gaines' Mill. The losses on both sides were very heavy. Many valuable Federal officers were slain, among whom was Colonel Black, of the sixty-second Pennsylvania regiment. The field was covered in many places with heaps of the dead and the dying. The plaintive groans of the wounded, after the roar of the conflict ceased, burdened the midnight air, and added to the horrors of the scene. The combatants on both sides slept upon their arms, except those who were detailed to bury the dead, to convey the wounded from the field, and to perform picket duty.

While these operations were progressing on the right wing of the Federal army, an engagement took place on the left, where General Smith held a position consisting of breastworks and two redoubts. He was attacked on Friday evening at seven o'clock by the Georgia brigade, commanded by General Toombs. The latter were encountered by Hancock's brigade, consisting of the sixth Maine, fifth Wisconsin, forty-third New York, and forty-

ninth Pennsylvania regiments, and by Brooks' fifth Vermont regiment. The guns in the redoubts assisted in the engagement, which was brief but desperate. After losing a hundred killed, whom they left on the field, the Georgians retired in disorder before the deadly and continuous fire of the Federal troops. This was the first battle at Golding's Farm. The second ensued on the following morning. Mortified at their defeat, the chivalrous Georgians determined to renew the contest. At eight o'clock they again advanced toward the redoubts, and resumed the attack. The Federal troops were either protected by the breastworks, or were concealed by lying on the grass. They gave the Georgians a deadly reception. Colonel Lamar was mortally wounded in the commencement of the engagement, and his lieutenant colonel was taken prisoner. The result of the contest was the same as before, the Rebels being compelled to retire, after suffering very severe losses.

During the following night the removal of the baggage trains, of the sick, and the disabled, toward James river and the White House was continued. The enemy had thus far gained but little advantage, and had been very severely punished. Still, however, deluded by the absurd and fantastic conceit that the retrograde movement of the Federal army was a mere flight before their invincible forces, they were determined to continue the contest. In the afternoon of the 27th the headquarters of General McClellan were removed across the Chickahominy, to the vicinity of Savage's Station. Thither vast masses of stores and ammunition had been transported, on their way to their new *dépôt* on James river. Throughout this whole route the houses were converted into hospitals, and were occupied by the wounded of the Federal army. During Friday night the larger portion

of the Federal forces crossed the Chickahominy, and thus obtained some advantage over the pursuing enemy. It should be observed here, that the battles of Mechanicsville and Gaines' Mill took place on the *left* side of that stream. Those which afterward ensued were fought on the *right* side. This arrangement will be understood when it is remembered, that the Chickahominy flows southward into James river; that in describing the events connected with it, the observer is supposed to be facing the mouth of the stream; and that the points of the compass are to be taken accordingly. Notwithstanding the enormous losses which the Rebels had suffered, and although they had not as yet driven their opponents from a single one of their chosen positions, they persisted in claiming continual victories. Under this pleasing delusion they prepared, after the interval of a day, to renew the contest, and to endure additional and still more sanguinary slaughters, in the pursuit of a favorite and fanciful chimera.

No attack was made on the main body of the Federal army on Saturday, the 28th of June. Early in the morning of that day the entire force which had so valiantly confronted the Rebel hosts, had crossed the Chickahominy by four bridges. These were then blown up or burnt, to intercept the pursuit of the enemy. Later in the day it was ascertained that they were crossing the stream at New Bridge, with the apparent intention of moving round toward Bottom Bridge, to cut off the communication of the Federals with their railroad and telegraph. But Saturday wore away without any hostile operations on the part of the Rebels. The reason of this apparent inactivity was, that a large number of their troops were busily engaged in burying their dead, and in conveying their wounded from the scenes of the late



sanguinary engagements into Richmond. Many of the wounded Federal soldiers also fell into their hands. During this day the Union army was withdrawn as far as Savage's Station. From that point several separate trains of cars, filled with the wounded, were sent down to White House. A third trip was about to be made, when it was ascertained that the enemy had cut the telegraph wires and had gained possession of Dispatch Station. A large proportion of the sick and wounded who were at Savage's Station were on this day placed in ambulances, and their removal to Harrison's Landing was commenced. But a sufficient number of these conveyances were not to be obtained; and except those who were able to walk, or even to crawl toward a place of safety, the remainder ultimately fell into the hands of the enemy. During Saturday night a vast amount of commissary stores, ammunition, and hospital supplies, for which there were no means of removal at command, were destroyed by orders of General McClellan. Four carloads of ammunition, which had arrived from the White House during the previous week, were replaced in the cars; and the entire train, headed by an engine, was let loose, sent down the railroad, and run into the Chickahominy at the bridge which had been burnt, to prevent it from falling into the possession of the Rebels. This train rushed forward on its pathway to destruction with fearful velocity, and at length plunged into the tranquil stream with a prodigious crash. Strange spectacles were exhibited by the multitudes of the wounded, and by the long lines of ambulances and wagons which, during this day, were toiling on their way toward James river. Hundreds of men went limping along, some with their arms in slings, some hobbling on crutches. The ambulances were all filled, and often the wounded would be

seen sitting in the end of the wagons, their broken legs or crushed ankles hanging out, and the blood dripping from them upon the ground beneath. The heavy siege guns formed a conspicuous part of this singular and melancholy *cortege*. These, together with droves of cattle, crowds of negroes, teamsters, sutlers, and frightened fugitives of every kind, together with the noise and tumult, the swearing and screaming, which inevitably attended such a throng, at such a time, presented a most extraordinary combination of contrasts. Sometimes a sudden terror pervaded the mass; for then a report had arrived that the enemy were interposing a powerful column between them and the James river, thereby cutting off their only means of escape. Then again when the falsity of this rumor was ascertained by the return of messengers who had been sent to the front, hope would revive, and a gayer tone would animate the volatile and motley assemblage.

Meanwhile orders had been sent to White House to hasten the departure of the Federal troops from that station. These orders were obeyed with all possible dispatch, and the place was finally abandoned by the assembled transports and steamers at four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, June 28th. All the stores, ammunition and wounded had been previously embarked and safely removed. About seven o'clock in the evening, the pickets of the enemy began to make their appearance in the vicinity; but they found only desolation and solitude. Even the insignificant building which had given a name and some celebrity to this locality, had been burned; although the author of the superfluous and barbarous deed remained unknown.

At three o'clock on Sunday morning, June 29th General McClellan, attended by his staff and body-guard,

left the scene of his night's repose and rode forward toward Charles City. He had directed his generals to abandon their entrenchments, to follow with their several divisions until intercepted by the enemy, and then to give them battle. At daylight on Sunday morning General Smith began to retire. Generals Sumner, Heintzelman, Keys, and Franklin soon followed with their respective forces. Then came McCall's division, and last of all, those of Hooker and Kearney, who brought up the rear. As soon as the Rebel commanders observed that the Federal army was again in motion, they commenced to close in upon them; but it was not till later in the day that a regular engagement took place between them. Then ensued the battle of Peach Orchard. The enemy approached the Federal troops by the Williamsburg road, and had reached a position three hundred yards from the Federals, when the latter opened upon them with their powerful guns. The effect of the discharge upon the serried lines of the enemy was terrific. Their ranks wavered and staggered like drunken men before the continuous hailstorm of shot and shell which was poured upon them. The battle lasted from eight in the morning until noon. During this period the Rebels endeavored to outflank the Federals on the left, and intercept them on the Williamsburg road, but without effect. They charged several times on the brigades of Burns, Gorman, and Dana, with the evident intention of crushing them in detail, but with no better success. The troops of Richardson, Heintzelman, Sedgwick, Sumner, and Meagher, fought with distinguished gallantry. All the efforts made by the Rebels to drive the Federals into a retreat from their position, were absolute failures; and it was not until the Federal generals had become assured that the caravan of wagons, ambulances,

and cattle of their army had crossed the White Oak swamp, and were safe from the immediate pursuit of the enemy, that they gave the order to fall back. This order was executed leisurely; and having reached Savage's Station they again drew up in line of battle, to receive the advancing foe.

The contest which ensued at Savage's Station on the same day, was still more fierce and sanguinary. It commenced about five o'clock in the afternoon, and did not terminate until eleven o'clock at night. Before the attack began, the Rebels had been largely reinforced; their next assault therefore was much more vigorous and destructive. They approached through a dense wood, which concealed them from view, until they were within a short distance of the Federal lines. They then suddenly emerged from the edges of the forest, ran out three or four batteries to commanding positions, and opened a rapid fire of shot and shell. This salute they kept up with such skill and resolution, that a portion of the Federals were overpowered and gave way. The one hundred and sixth Pennsylvania regiment broke and then fled in a panic, after losing a hundred men killed and wounded. The Federal artillery could not for a time be served, all the men being either picked off or driven away from their guns. Never had the Rebels fought with more desperate courage. During the progress of the battle the Federal forces were, on several occasions, in a very critical position. At one time an entire brigade of the enemy were observed to be moving stealthily down to the right, with the design of making an attack upon the flank. This intention was defeated by the promptitude with which Captain Pettit placed a battery in such a position as to sweep the entire column with grape and canister, which eventually compelled



them to recoil, and relinquish their purpose. During the progress of the fight the Irish brigades greatly distinguished themselves, charging in some cases up to the very cannon of the enemy. One of the Rebel batteries they hauled off, spiked the guns, demolished the carriages, and then abandoned them.

At length the shades of darkness descended upon this mortal combat, but they brought no termination to its horrors. The roar of the cannon, and the sharper, shriller sound of the musketry, continued to be deafening and incessant. The night was made as light as noonday at rapid intervals, by the lurid flashes of the artillery; and each discharge enabled the combatants to ascertain the position of their foes with more distinctness. To add to the terrors of the scene, the adjacent woods were set on fire by the bursting shells; and soon the conflagration rolled vast heaving volumes of smoke and flame far up into the vault of heaven, giving to the battle-field the appearance of a pandemonium. Thus the carnage and the contest raged until midnight. The losses on both sides were very heavy. The Rebels had done much damage by firing into the hospitals in which many of the wounded had been placed; and they perpetrated this barbarity in spite of the significant white and red flags which were placed upon them. At twelve o'clock the Federal commanders received orders from General McClellan to fall back rapidly from Savage's Station, across White Oak swamp, inasmuch as the Rebels were endeavoring to intercept them. A desperate race ensued to determine who should first gain possession of that position. The Federals were compelled to leave all their wounded at Savage's Station in the hands of the enemy. And now the movement toward James river, which had begun in a leisurely and voluntary march thither, un-

avoidably degenerated into a flight on the part of the Federals, and into a pursuit on the part of the enemy. The Federal soldiers knew this fact, and the resolution, not of hope but of despair, now actuated them. That wearied, overworked, but heroic band, who had engaged the enemy so often and so bravely, were compelled to exhaust the last powers of human endurance, in order to escape complete destruction. The race to reach the swamp was one of desperate energy, accompanied by equally desperate fighting; for the vast superiority of numbers which the Rebels possessed enabled them to keep up an attack on the rear of the Union army, while their main body strained every nerve to overreach and intercept the front. The divisions of Heintzelman, Sumner, and Franklin were compelled to keep continually in line of battle across the country, during this part of the retreat, in order to beat off the hordes of the enemy as from time to time they renewed the assault. At length the last wagon and the last cannon plashed through the waters of White Oak creek. It was eight o'clock on Monday morning, June the 30th. The day was bright and hot. The fugitives were exhausted with their superhuman efforts in fighting and retreating. After crossing the creek, hundreds threw themselves upon the ground to rest, or crawling to the green margin of the limpid stream, leaned over, and drank to slake the burning thirst which consumed them.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BATTLE OF WHITE OAK SWAMP—POSITION AND ORDER OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS—TEMPORARY PANIC—DESPERATE FIGHTING—FORTUNATE ASSISTANCE OF THE GUNBOATS ON JAMES RIVER—HEROISM AND SKILL OF GENERAL HEINTZELMAN—A GENERAL BAYONET CHARGE ON THE REBELS—ITS RESULTS—FIRST ENGAGEMENT AT MALVERN HILLS—INCIDENTS OF THE FIGHT—THE IRISH BRIGADE—COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE REBELS—THE FEDERAL ARMY REMOVES TO HARRISON'S LANDING—RESULTS OF THE SEVERAL BATTLES BEFORE RICHMOND—ARTILLERY DUEL ON THE JAMES RIVER—GENERAL HOOKER SENT TO RECONNOITRE AND OCCUPY MALVERN HILL—THE MARCH THITHER—ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ENEMY—THEIR DEFEAT—IMMENSE REINFORCEMENTS ORDERED FROM RICHMOND—RETURN OF THE FEDERAL TROOPS TO HARRISON'S LANDING—FINAL EVACUATION OF THEIR CAMP BY THE FEDERAL ARMY—ITS FUTURE DESTINATION—FEDERAL LOSSES DURING THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN.

A VERY brief period for repose was allowed to the Federal troops. They had indeed won the race to White Oak swamp; but the vast army of the Rebels was in eager pursuit of them, and in a short time were upon their rear. Then followed another desperate engagement, named after the locality in which it took place. Soon after crossing the White Oak creek the Federal generals formed their new line of battle with great energy and promptness. The chief of these officers were Heintzelman, Sumner, Kearney, Porter and Hancock. The new position of the Federal forces extended about four miles in length. On the extreme right wing General Hancock was posted with his brigade. Next to him were placed the troops of Brooks and Davidson. The batteries belonging to this division were commanded by

Captain Ayres. Then came the divisions of Sumner, Heintzelman and Porter. The battle commenced with an attack by the enemy on the column of General Hancock. They opened with about twenty batteries, which were served with such vigor and skill that they soon blew up several of Captain Mott's caissons, shattered his guns, and spread confusion among the teamsters, cannoniers and troops who came within their range. It was at this period that so complete a terror pervaded some of the regiments, that one of them, the twentieth New York, fled in the utmost disorder, and scattered in fragments in every direction. For this disgraceful proceeding General McClellan, on the following day, ordered the provost marshal to arrest all the stragglers as they came into camp.

After a short time, however, the Federals who had been attacked recovered their self-possession, and their guns responded to those of the enemy. The latter had not yet crossed the White Oak creek, and the engagement was still confined to the operations of the artillery. At length a portion of the Rebels made an attempt to cross the stream, but were met and repulsed with success by General Smith, whose brisk fire of infantry extended continuously along whole columns. Finding it impossible to cross in front, the enemy detached a powerful force to proceed four miles due south to Charles City Cross Roads, for the purpose of interposing between the Federal forces and James river, thereby intercepting their retreat. The position which they purposed to reach was within a mile and a half of Turkey Bend on that river; and had they succeeded in their intention, they would have inevitably accomplished the ruin of the army, and prevented its successful establishment at Harrison's Landing. Fortunately, information of this movement of the



Rebels was obtained in time; and Generals Porter and Keys so marshalled their wearied troops as to prevent its achievement. They reached the advancing columns of the enemy at four o'clock in the afternoon, and attacked them. The Rebels fought desperately, and their artillery produced a dreadful havoc in the Federal ranks. The latter were nearly dead already from the effects of heat, exhaustion and thirst; and so little discipline remained that a portion of those regiments which were nearest the James river, at one time broke ranks, rushed to its shores, plunged in, and after slaking their thirst returned to their colors, and resumed the fight. But the resistance of the Federal troops gradually became weaker. Human nature could endure no more. The fresh masses of the exultant Rebel army continued to press forward with still greater resolution. An overwhelming and decisive victory seemed about to crown the persevering efforts of the Rebel hosts, when, at the critical moment, a deliverer suddenly appeared. As at Pittsburg Landing, so in the present instance, the gallant navy of the Union rescued the land forces from destruction. At that crisis the gunboats on the James river opened their fire upon the enemy. At five o'clock the enormous rifled guns of the Jacob Bell, Galena, and Aroostook, which were anchored in Turkey Bend, belched forth their colossal shells, with a detonation which completely drowned the feebler chorus of all the artillery on land, and terrified the foe by the unexpected presence of a more formidable antagonist. As the shells descended upon the serried masses of the Rebels and burst among them, whole ranks were battered to the earth by the flying fragments. Horrible havoc ensued. Confusion and terror were quickly diffused through their columns; and they who, a few moments before,

were confident of driving the Federal army into the James river, or of compelling it to surrender, themselves began to give way.

Encouraged by the evident effect of the shot of the gunboats, the Federal commanders, of whom the most distinguished on this memorable field was General Heintzelman, determined to recover the fortunes of the day by making a combined and desperate charge. The gunboats were therefore signalled to suspend their fire. Preparations were quickly made to effect the intended movement. The great-hearted veteran whom we have just named galloped from column to column. He announced the purpose to charge in brief and thrilling words. He then returned to his position, and passed down, to right and to left, the stern order to advance. The bugles sounded; and like the surging of a mighty deluge which had long been compressed within narrow limits, that mass of heroes, having caught new energy and strength from reviving hope, moved forward sublimely to the assault. The steady Massachusetts men of Grover, the fierce and fiery brigades of Meagher and Sickels, the well drilled soldiers of Hooker, Kearney with his brave Jersey Blues, the resolute troops of Heintzelman, and others equally gallant, marched defiantly against the foe, with the determination to conquer or to perish. The enemy met their rushing tides at first with firmness; but nothing could long resist such a delirium of fortitude as seemed to pervade and to inflame their assailants. They gradually gave way; their lines broke; and they eventually fled from the field in complete confusion. During this famous battle-shock, many were slain on both sides, and many prisoners were taken. The Rebels had previously captured a large number of guns, being portions of the batteries of Randall, Mott and Ayres. In the entire

engagement at White Oak swamp the Federal loss in killed and wounded was not less than three thousand five hundred. That of the enemy was undoubtedly as great, if not much greater. But the contest saved the Federal army from ruin or from capitulation; and covered both the generals who commanded, and the soldiers who fought in it, with enduring renown. In vain had the best Rebel officers repeatedly put in practice their favorite tactics, of hurling fresh masses of troops on the Federal lines, first on one wing, then on the other, and suddenly in the centre. All was in vain. The goal had been safely reached. The glancing placid waters of the James river had at last greeted the longing eyes of the soldiers of the Union; and the possibility of their destruction or of a still more disastrous capture was forever averted.

At the close of the battle of White Oak swamp the Federal army took possession of Malvern Hill in the vicinity of the river. General McClellan had selected Harrison's Landing, six miles below, as his future permanent camp, and thither the convoy of wagons, ammunition stores, and supplies of all sorts continued to be directed. The James river was crowded with transports and vessels of all kinds, to assist in the work of transportation. During Monday night the heroes of a seven-days battle rested from their herculean labors. But their task was not yet completed. On Tuesday, July the 1st, the last of this memorable series of engagements, the battle of Malvern Hill, was fought.

As an attack from the enemy was anticipated, the Federal army was drawn out in battle array at an early hour. Their line formed a magnificent semicircle, which presented a formidable front. General Keys with his

command was posted on the extreme right. General Franklin's corps came next, then the troops of Sumner comprising the divisions of Sedgwick and Richardson. The extreme left was occupied by Fitz John Porter. Heintzelman's corps, embracing the divisions of Hooker, Kearney and Couch, occupied the centre. Fifty heavy guns bristled along the lines from their freshly made earthworks. The battle commenced about noon with a vigorous cannonading on both sides. The enemy were commanded by Generals Lee, Magruder and Jackson, and opened the engagement with great spirit. Several hours passed away before the infantry came into action. At four o'clock the Rebels advanced, fiercely attacked the troops commanded by General Couch, and attempted to break the Federal line. The effort failed, and the assailants were driven back with great slaughter at the point of the bayonet. But they were not easily disheartened. After a short interval they made a still more desperate effort to accomplish their purpose. The Rebel commanders threw forward heavy masses of troops, assisted and protected by artillery, against the ranks of Porter and Couch; and continued for more than an hour to hurl forward fresh columns upon the Federal line. At one crisis their determined efforts seemed about to be successful in driving back the Federals. At that critical moment General Porter dispatched a messenger to General Sumner, requesting immediate reinforcements. The Irish brigade of Meagher, whose valorous troops seemed, in almost every emergency, to be the protecting Aegis of the Federal army in the peninsula, were immediately sent to the rescue. They advanced to meet the enemy with their usual enthusiasm. The wavering Federal lines were quickly steadied; the Rebel host in turn recoiled; and the periled fortune of the day was



recovered. Thus the fight was continued until after nightfall. At ten o'clock the last gun was fired. During the progress of the engagement the most signal service had been rendered by the gunboats on James river. The immense shells from their rifled cannon tore shrieking and howling through the forests, and often exploded within the lines of the enemy, with a concussion which shook the solid earth, and scattered piles of dead and wounded on every hand. In all their efforts to drive the Federal forces from their position, the enemy had signally failed. After each advance they had been repulsed with heavy losses. The battle was to them an unqualified defeat. To prove that this statement should not be regarded as exaggerated or inaccurate, we might adduce many admissions made by the Rebels themselves. One of the most impartial of these will suffice. A leading Richmond journal said: "Officers and men went down by the hundreds; but yet, undaunted and unwavering, our line dashed on, until two-thirds of the distance across the interval was accomplished. Here the carnage from the withering fire of the enemy's combined artillery and musketry was dreadful. Our line wavered a moment, and fell back into the cover of the woods. Twice again the effort to carry the position was renewed, but each time with the same results. Night at length rendered a further attempt injudicious; and the fight until ten o'clock was kept up by the artillery on both sides."\*

\* Richmond Examiner of Friday, July 4th, 1862. The same journal presents the following graphic picture of the ground which the Rebels had occupied during the progress of the engagement:

"The battle-field, surveyed through the cold rain of Wednesday morning, presented scenes too shocking to be dwelt on without anguish. The woods and the field before mentioned were, on the western side, covered with our dead, in all the degrees of violent mutilation, while in the woods on the west of the field lay, *in about equal numbers*, the blue uniformed bodies of the enemy."

Thus ended the battle of Malvern Hill. Thus terminated the last assault made by the troops of the Rebel Confederacy at this period, upon the army of the Union in the Peninsula. Thus concluded one of the most extraordinary series of engagements which has ever occurred in the blood-stained annals of ancient or modern warfare. The losses endured on both sides were appalling; and impartial history will hereafter affirm from her high seat, that the Rebels had little of which to boast, in the incidents and results of the battles which were fought near their capital. It is unquestionably true, that the Federal forces would have been withdrawn to James river without these assaults having been made upon them. While therefore the Confederates inflicted superfluous wounds and death upon them, they were themselves in turn punished and mulcted to a much more destructive and ruinous extent. The Federal losses in these various engagements were as follows: in the battle of Mechanicsville, the number in killed and wounded was about one thousand; in that of Gaines' Mill, three thousand; in that of Peach Orchard, five hundred; at Savage's Station, one thousand; in White Oak Swamp, three thousand five hundred; at Golding's Farm, four hundred; at Malvern Hill, two thousand; making a grand total of eleven thousand four hundred. This estimate does not include the missing, whose exact numbers are unknown. It is probable that the losses of the Rebels were fully twice as great as those which had been inflicted on the Federal troops.

During Tuesday night, and on Wednesday the 2d of July, the concentration and establishment of the Union forces at Harrison's Landing were completed. The enemy were too much broken and exhausted to continue the pursuit or to renew the assault. Their self-imposed

task had been finished, with greater infliction of suffering and calamity on themselves than on their opponents. The new position which General McClellan had selected, consisted of a strip of land along the northern bank of the James river, five miles in length, where a number of suitable wharves existed, at which the transports could discharge their cargoes of supplies; and whose external form toward the enemy was admirably adapted to the purpose of defense. It was soon made impregnable against all attacks by the skillful use of the spade; for such formidable breastworks were quickly thrown up, as to convince the Rebels of the impolicy of any attempt to carry them by assault. On the 4th of July General McClellan issued an address to his troops, in which he bestowed upon them that praise for heroism and endurance which they had richly merited; and which will continue to be, until the end of time, the just reward of the brave and patriotic men, whose undying glory and misfortune it was to have belonged to the Federal army in the Peninsula.

The repose of that army at Harrison's Landing remained undisturbed by the enemy during the period of nearly a month. It was not until the night of the 31st of July that their hostile presence and spirit were again exhibited. The Rebels had crossed the James river in considerable numbers, above the Federal camp; had posted several batteries opposite to the Landing, and in the vicinity of the Union fleet of transports; and then began a vigorous cannonading, both upon the camp and the fleet. The assault continued during an hour and a half. Their guns threw shell of six and twelve pounds weight, both round and conical. They effected but little damage, inasmuch as they generally fell short of their mark. A few of them exploded within the Federal

camp, and some of them reached the shipping. In consequence of the fact that no attack was expected from the foe in that direction, all the Federal guns had been posted in the front; so that a considerable interval elapsed before a sufficient number could be transferred to the proper position to respond to the enemy. In half an hour the latter commenced to reply, and in a short time the Rebels were silenced. They had made a futile assault; for although they discharged several hundred shells, so inaccurate was their aim that the loss on the Union side was only six killed and nine wounded. During the attack the Rebels frequently changed the position of their batteries, and as the night was extremely dark, it was only by the flashes of the guns that their location could be discovered. The vessels on the James river did not return any shots, as by so doing they would have revealed their own location more distinctly to the enemy.

This brief and unimportant episode was the mere prelude to the last military operation which was destined to take place between the Federal and Rebel armies in the Peninsula. The hideous carnival of blood and death which had rendered that spot so sadly famous in all coming time, was now about to terminate with the second battle at Malvern Hill. On Monday, the 4th of August, a portion of the Federal army was ordered to make a reconnoissance in the direction of the Rebel lines. It consisted of the divisions commanded by Generals Hooker and Sedgwick, a brigade of cavalry under General Pleasanton, and four batteries: General Hooker was chief in command. Leaving the camp at four o'clock in the afternoon, they marched along the road to Charles City for some distance. They then diverged through several by-roads as far as Nelson's Farm. At that point

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they bivouacked for the night. Early on the following morning they resumed their march, and in an hour they reached the rear of Malvern Hill, upon which the enemy were posted. They thus occupied a position between the latter and the remainder of their army, as well as their depot of supplies at Richmond. An admirable opportunity was thus afforded to surround and capture a large portion of the Rebel force.

Immediately after coming within view of the latter, the Federal troops were formed in line of battle. The artillery were posted in the front, the cavalry and infantry were ranged on the flanks. The Rebels commenced the battle promptly at six o'clock with their guns. The Federal cannon responded with spirit. The enemy were much inferior in number to the Union troops; comprising only three regiments of infantry, a small portion of cavalry, with four pieces of artillery. They maintained the contest during two hours with great determination; but the vast superiority of the Union troops in numbers rendered a further resistance on their part useless. They then retired in good order toward the James river. The Federal victors did not pursue. Their loss was only six killed and twenty-four wounded. The enemy took with them all their guns, their killed and their wounded. This fight enabled General Hooker to take possession of Malvern Hill, which gave him a position six miles nearer to Richmond than that at Harrison's Landing.

On Tuesday afternoon General McClellan, accompanied by a number of officers, visited the spot, and greatly commended General Hooker for his achievement. It was perfectly evident however, that though the small body of Rebel troops stationed there had been overpowered, large reinforcements would be quickly sent from

Richmond to recover the lost position. A general engagement would therefore soon occur, to decide the permanent possession of the place. Accordingly, General McClellan immediately sent messengers to his camp, ordering a large number of his troops to march toward Malvern Hill, to support the column already posted there. *If* these troops had arrived in time, the issue of the subsequent operations might have been different. But the messengers who conveyed the order pursued the wrong road, were unaccountably delayed on their journey, and thus the reinforcements did not approach until the position had been hopelessly lost. Only a portion of those Federal troops which were sent arrived, and these made their appearance only in time to join in the general retreat. On Wednesday the Rebels marched to Malvern Hill in large masses, and as the Federal forces, by this manoeuver, would have been greatly inferior in numbers, a retrograde movement was precipitately made to Harrison's Landing. Thus ended the capture, the occupation, and the evacuation of the position at Malvern Hill. The Federal loss during the operation was four killed and fifteen wounded.

It had now become evident to the Federal Government that the expedition against Richmond, through the Peninsula, had proved a total and irremediable failure. It was quite as evident that the longer delay of the army of the Union in that unpropitious clime would be productive of no good, while it would entail a continued and lavish waste of the national treasure and of valuable lives. General McClellan therefore received orders to evacuate Harrison's Landing. This order was obeyed on the 16th and 17th of August, 1862. Through the energy and skill of Colonel Ingalls, all the stores of subsistence

and ammunition were safely removed on board the fleet of Federal transports which then lay at Harrison's Landing. Nothing of the least value was left behind. The Rebel commanders, intensely gratified to witness the departure of their formidable visitors, did not offer any resistance to the movement. The army crossed the Chickahominy by a pontoon bridge two thousand feet in length, consisting of a hundred boats. The troops then marched forward toward Williamsburg, while the transports and gunboats sailed down James river to Fortress Monroe. The future destination of the Army of the Peninsula was then as yet unknown. It was, however, intended to be consolidated with the forces which had been placed under the orders of General Pope. This arrangement was afterward completed; and the fortunes of war were again tried under new auspices, against the desperate, yet by no means contemptible conspirators, who had risen in rebellion against their legitimate government, and had thus far struck, with such marvellous energy, ferocity and skill, against its sacred bosom. Nor can the patriot and philanthropist fail to experience the most poignant emotions of regret, when reflecting upon the varied incidents and results of the campaign in the Peninsula:—when he remembers the brilliant hopes which threw so bright and fair a radiance around the advance of the Union army toward the Rebel capital; when he recalls the many glorious prodigies of heroism and valor which were vainly performed by the soldiers and officers of that army, in the sanguinary battles which they fought; when he computes how many thousands of valiant and devoted men, from different and distant portions of the continent, were left behind by their departing comrades to moulder in their unknown and unhonored graves, the victims of a

climate and of labors more deadly than the bullets and cannon of the foe; in a word, when he meditates upon the complete and melancholy discomfiture of one of the greatest and noblest enterprises which the checkered page of history presents.



## A P P E N D I X.

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### I.

#### A STATEMENT OF THE CAUSES WHICH INDUCED THE SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE people of the State of South Carolina in Convention assembled, on the 2d day of April, A.D. 1852, declared that the frequent violations of the Constitution of the United States by the Federal Government, and its encroachments upon the reserved rights of the States, fully justified this State in their withdrawal from the Federal Union ; but in deference to the opinions and wishes of the other Slaveholding States, she forbore at that time to exercise this right. Since that time these encroachments have continued to increase, and further forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

And now the State of South Carolina having resumed her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself, to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the immediate causes which have led to this act.

In the year 1765, that portion of the British Empire embracing Great Britain undertook to make laws for the Government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted, on the 4th of July, 1776, in a Declaration, by the Colonies, "that they are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

They further solemnly declared that whenever any "form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government." Deeming the Government of Great Britain to have become destructive of these ends, they declared that the Colonies "are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopted for itself a Constitution, and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. For purposes of defence they united their arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they entered into a League known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to intrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring, in the first article, "that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this Confederation the War of the Revolution was carried on; and on the 3d of September, 1783, the contest ended, and a definite Treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the Independence of the Colonies in the following terms:

"ARTICLE 1. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz.: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that he treats with them as such; and, for himself, his heirs and successors, re-

linquishes all claims to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof."

Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely: the right of a State to govern itself, and the right of a people to abolish a Government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with the establishment of these principles, was the fact, that each Colony became and was recognized by the mother country as a **FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE.**

In 1787, Deputies were appointed by the States to revise the articles of Confederation; and on 17th September, 1787, these Deputies recommended, for the adoption of the States, the Articles of Union, known as the Constitution of the United States.

The parties to whom this Constitution was submitted were the several sovereign States; they were to agree or disagree, and when nine of them agreed, the compact was to take effect among those concurring; and the General Government, as the common agent, was then to be invested with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were—separate, sovereign States, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact, two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven; and during that interval, they each exercised the functions of an independent nation.

By this Constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several States, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily impelled their continued existence as sovereign States. But to remove all doubt, an amendment was added, which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. On the 23d May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her people, passed an ordinance assenting to

this Constitution, and afterwards altered her own Constitution to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

Thus was established, by compact between the States, a Government with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or the people, and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights. We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two great principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely, the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the obligation of the other; and that, where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

In the present case, that fact is established with certainty. We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its fourth Article, provides as follows :

“No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

This stipulation was so material to the compact that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties held slaves, and they had previously evinced their estimate of value of such a stipulation by making it a condition in the Ordinance for the government of the territory ceded by Virginia, which obligations,



and the laws of the General Government, have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service of labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law in conformity with her constitutional obligation; but the current of Anti-Slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own laws and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York even the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder, and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States; and the consequence follows that South Carolina is released from her obligation.

The ends for which this Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government, in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights; by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for, three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has been destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of Slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace of and eloin the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures, to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery. He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that Slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution has been aided, in some of the States, by elevating to citizenship persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety.

On the 4th of March next this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall

be excluded from the common territory, that the Judicial tribunal shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against Slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

The guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The Slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

Sectional interest and animosity will deepen the irritation; and all hope of remedy is rendered vain, by the fact that the public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief.

We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State, with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

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## II.

### THE FINAL LETTER OF THE REBEL COMMISSIONERS TO SECRETARY SEWARD.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1861.

*Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, Washington.*

THE "memorandum" dated Department of State, Washington, March 15, 1861, has been received through the hands of

Mr. J. T. Pickett, Secretary to this Commission, who, by the instructions of the undersigned, called for it on yesterday at the Department.

In that memorandum you correctly state the purport of the official note addressed to you by the undersigned on the 12th ult. Without repeating the contents of that note in full, it is enough to say here that its object was to invite the Government of the United States to a friendly consideration of the relation between the United States and the seven States lately of the Federal Union, but now separated from it by the sovereign will of their people, growing out of the pregnant and undeniable fact that those people have rejected the authority of the United States and established a Government of their own. Those relations had to be friendly or hostile. The people of the old and new Governments, occupying contiguous territories, had to stand to each other in the relation of good neighbors, each seeking their happiness and pursuing their national destinies in their own way, without interference with the other, or they had to be rival and hostile nations. The Government of the Confederate States had no hesitation in electing its choice in this alternative. Frankly and unreserved, seeking the good of the people who had intrusted them with power, in the spirit of humanity, of the Christian civilization of the age, and of that Americanism which regards the true welfare and happiness of the people, the Government of the Confederate States, among its first acts, commissioned the undersigned to approach the Government of the United States with the olive branch of peace, and to offer to adjust the great questions pending between them in the only way to be justified by the consciences and common sense of good men who had nothing but the welfare of the people of the two Confederacies at heart.

Your Government has not chosen to meet the undersigned in the conciliatory and peaceful spirit in which they are commissioned. Persistently wedded to those fatal theories of construction of the Federal Constitution always rejected by



the statesmen of the South, and adhered to by those of the Administration school, until they have produced their natural and often predicted result of the destruction of the Union, under which we might have continued to live happily and gloriously together, had the spirit of the ancestry who framed the common Constitution, animated the hearts of all their sons, you now, with a persistence untaught and uncured by the ruin which has been wrought, refuse to recognize the great fact presented to you of a complete and successful revolution ; you close your eyes to the existence of the Government founded upon it, and ignore the high duties of moderation and humanity which attach to you in dealing with this great fact. Had you met these issues with the frankness and manliness with which the undersigned were instructed to present them to you and treat them, the undersigned had not now the melancholy duty to return home and tell their Government and their countrymen, that their earnest and ceaseless efforts in behalf of peace had been futile, and that the Government of the United States meant to subjugate them by force of arms. Whatever may be the result, impartial history will record the innocence of the Government of the Confederate States, and place the responsibility of the blood and mourning that may ensue upon those who have denied the great fundamental doctrine of American liberty, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and who have set naval and land armaments in motion to subject the people of one portion of the land to the will of another portion. That that can never be done while a free-man survives in the Confederate States to wield a weapon, the undersigned appeal to past history to prove. These military demonstrations against the people of the seceded States are certainly far from being in keeping and consistency with the theory of the Secretary of State, maintained in his memorandum, that these States are still component parts of the late American Union, as the undersigned are not aware of any constitutional power in the President of the United

States to levy war without the consent of Congress, upon a foreign people, much less upon any portion of the people of the United States.

The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose to "invite or engage in discussion" of the subject on which their two Governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the Government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our Government and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of the people as a "perversion of a temporary and partizan excitement." If you cherish these dreams you will be awakened from them and find them as unreal and unsubstantial as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the Government of the United States that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British crown.

The undersigned clearly understand that you have declined to appoint a day to enable them to lay the objects of the mission with which they are charged, before the President of the United States, because so to do would be to recognize the independence and separate nationality of the Confederate States. This is the vein of thought that pervades the memorandum before us. The truth of history requires that it should distinctly appear upon the record that the undersigned did not ask the Government of the United States to recognize

the independence of the Confederate States. They only asked audience to adjust, in a spirit of amity and peace, the new relations springing from a manifest and accomplished revolution in the Government of the late Federal Union. Your refusal to entertain these overtures for a peaceful solution, the active naval and military preparation of this Government, and a formal notice to the commanding general of the Confederate forces in the harbor of Charleston, that the President intends to provision Fort Sumter by forcible means, if necessary, are viewed by the undersigned, and can only be received by the world, as a declaration of war against the Confederate States; for the President of the United States knows that Fort Sumter cannot be provisioned without the effusion of blood. The undersigned, in behalf of their Government and people, accept the gage of battle thus thrown down to them; and appealing to God and the judgment of mankind for the righteousness of their cause, the people of the Confederate States will defend their liberties to the last against this flagrant and open attempt at their subjugation to sectional power.

This communication cannot be properly closed without adverting to the date of your memorandum. The official note of the undersigned, of the 12th March, was delivered to the Assistant Secretary of State on the 13th of that month, the gentleman who delivered it, informing him that the Secretary of this Commission would call at 12 o'clock, noon, on the next day, for an answer. At the appointed hour, Mr. Pickett did call, and was informed by the Assistant Secretary of State that the engagements of the Secretary of State had prevented him from giving the note his attention. The Assistant Secretary of State then asked for the address of Messrs. Crawford and Forsyth, the members of the Commission then present in this city, took note of the address on a card, and engaged to send whatever reply might be made to their lodgings. Why this was not done it is proper should be here explained. The memorandum is dated March 15, and was

not delivered until April 8. Why was it withheld during the intervening twenty-three days? In the postscript to your memorandum you say it "was delayed, as was understood, with their (Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford's) consent." This is true ; but it is also true that on the 15th of March Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford were assured by a person occupying a high official position in the Government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated within a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Confederate States, as respects Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens, would be notified to us. On the 1st of April we were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Gov. Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reinforcements. The undersigned did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the Administration at the time, or at all events of prominent members of that Administration. This delay was assented to, for the express purpose of attaining the great end of the mission of the undersigned, to wit : A pacific solution of existing complications. The inference deducible from the date of your memorandum, that the undersigned had, of their own volition and without cause, consented to this long hiatus in the grave duties with which they were charged, is therefore not consistent with a just exposition of the facts of the case. The intervening twenty-three days were employed in active unofficial efforts, the object of which was to smooth the path to a pacific solution, the distinguished personage alluded to coöperating with the undersigned ; and every step of that effort is recorded in writing, and now in possession of the undersigned and of their Government. It was only when all these anxious efforts for peace had been exhausted, and it became clear that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appeal to the sword to reduce the



people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose President he is, that the undersigned resumed the official negotiation temporarily suspended, and sent their Secretary for a reply to their official note of March 12.

It is proper to add that, during these twenty-three days, two gentlemen of official distinction as high as that of the personage hitherto alluded to, aided the undersigned as intermediaries in these unofficial negotiations for peace.

The undersigned, Commissioners of the Confederate States of America, having thus made answer to all they deem material in the memorandum filed in the Department on the 15th of March last, have the honor to be,

JOHN FORSYTH,  
MARTIN J. CRAWFORD,  
A. B. ROMAN.

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### III.

THE CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES, BY  
JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

THE *de facto* question in America has been referred at last to the dread arbitrament of civil war. Time and events must determine whether the "great Republic" is to disappear from the roll of nations, or whether it is destined to survive the storm which has gathered over its head. There is, perhaps, a readiness in England to prejudge the case; a disposition not to exult in our downfall, but to accept the fact; for nations as well as individuals, may often be addressed in the pathetic language of the poet:

"Donec eris felix. multos numerabis amicos;  
Tempora cum fuerint nubila, nullus erit."

Yet the trial by the ordeal of battle has hardly commenced, and it would be presumptuous to affect to penetrate the veil

of even the immediate future. But the question *de jure* is a different one. The right and the wrong belong to the past, are hidden by no veil, and may easily be read by all who are not wilfully blind. Yet it is often asked why have the Americans taken up arms? Why has the United States Government plunged into what is sometimes called "this wicked war?" Especially it is thought amazing in England that the President should have recently called for a great army of volunteers and regulars, and that the inhabitants of the Free States should have sprung forward as one man at his call, like men suddenly relieved from a spell. It would have been amazing had the call been longer delayed. The national flag, insulted and defied for many months, had at last been lowered, after the most astonishing kind of siege recorded in history, to an armed and organized rebellion; and a prominent personage in the Government of the Southern Confederacy is reported to have proclaimed amid the exultations of victory that before the 1st of May the same cherished emblem of our nationality should be struck from the capitol at Washington. An advance of the "Confederate troops" upon that city; the flight or captivity of the President and his Cabinet; the seizure of the national archives, the national title deeds, and the whole national machinery of foreign intercourse and internal administration, by the Confederates; and the proclamation from the American palladium itself of the Montgomery Constitution in place of the one devised by Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay—a constitution in which slavery should be the universal law of the land, the cornerstone of the political edifice—were events which seemed for a few days of intense anxiety almost probable.

Had this really been the result, without a blow struck in defence of the national Government and the old Constitution, it is certain that the contumely poured forth upon the Free States by their domestic enemies, and by the world at large, would have been as richly deserved as it would have been amply bestowed. At present such a catastrophe seems to

have been averted. But the levy in mass of such a vast number of armed men in the Free States, in swift response to the call of the President, shows how deep and pervading is the attachment to the Constitution and to the flag of Union in the hearts of the 19,000,000 who inhabit those States. It is confidently believed, too, that the sentiment is not wholly extinguished in the 9,000,000 white men who dwell in the Slave States, and that, on the contrary, there exists a large party throughout that country who believe that the Union furnishes a better protection for life, property, law, civilization, and liberty, than even the indefinite extension of African slavery can do.

At any rate, the loyalty of the Free States has proved more intense and passionate than it had ever been supposed to be before. It is recognized throughout their whole people that the Constitution of 1787 had made us a *nation*. The efforts of a certain class of politicians for a long period had been to reduce our Commonwealth to a Confederacy. So long as their efforts had been confined to argument, it was considered sufficient to answer the argument; but, now that secession, instead of remaining a topic of vehement and subtle discussion, has expanded into armed and fierce rebellion and revolution, civil war is the inevitable result. It is the result foretold by sagacious statesmen almost a generation ago, in the days of the tariff "nullification." "To begin with nullification," said Daniel Webster in 1833, "with the avowed intention, nevertheless, not to proceed to secession, dismemberment, and general revolution, is as if one were to take the plunge of Niagara, and cry out that he would stop half way down." And now the plunge of secession has been taken, and we are all struggling in the vortex of general revolution.

The body politic, known for seventy years as the United States of America, is not a Confederacy, not a compact of sovereign States, not a copartnership; it is a Commonwealth, of which the Constitution drawn up at Philadelphia by the Convention of 1787, over which Washington presided, is the

organic, fundamental law. We had already had enough of a confederacy. The thirteen rebel provinces, afterward the thirteen original independent States of America, had been united to each other during the revolutionary war by articles of confederacy. "*The said States hereby enter into a firm league of friendship with each other.*" Such was the language of 1781, and the league or treaty thus drawn up was ratified, not by the *people* of the States, but by the State Governments,—the legislative and executive bodies namely, in their corporate capacity.

The continental Congress, which was the central administrative board during this epoch, was a diet of envoys from sovereign States. It had *no power* to act on *individuals*. It could not *command* the States. It could move only by requisitions and recommendations. Its functions were essentially diplomatic, like those of the States-General of the old Dutch Republic, like those of the modern Germanic Confederation.

We were a league of petty sovereignties. When the war had ceased, when our independence had been acknowledged in 1783, we sank rapidly into a condition of utter impotence, imbecility, anarchy. We had achieved our independence, but we had not constructed a nation. We were not a body politic. No laws could be enforced, no insurrections suppressed, no debts collected. Neither property nor life was secure. Great Britain had made a treaty of peace with us, but she scornfully declined a treaty of commerce and amity; not because we had been rebels, but because we were not a State—because we were a mere dissolving league of jarring provinces, incapable of guaranteeing the stipulations of any commercial treaty. We were unable even to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of peace and enforce the stipulated collection of debts due to British subjects; and Great Britain refused in consequence to give up the military posts which she held within our frontiers. For twelve years after the acknowledgement of our *independence* we were mortified by the



spectacle of foreign soldiers occupying a long chain of fortresses south of the great lakes and upon our own soil. We were a confederacy. We were sovereign States. And these were the fruits of such a confederacy and of such sovereignty. It was, until the immediate present, the darkest hour of our history. But there were patriotic and sagacious men in those days, and their efforts at last rescued us from the condition of a confederacy. The "Constitution of the United States" was an organic law, enacted by the sovereign people of that whole territory which is commonly called in geographies and histories, the United States of America. It was empowered to act directly, by its own legislative, judicial and executive machinery, upon every individual in the country. It could seize his property, it could take his life, for causes of which itself was the judge. The States were distinctly prohibited from opposing its decrees or from exercising any of the great functions of sovereignty. The Union alone was supreme, "any thing in the constitution and laws of the States to the contrary notwithstanding." Of what significance, then, was the title of "sovereign" States, arrogated in later days by communities which had voluntarily abdicated the most vital attributes of sovereignty? But, indeed, the words "sovereign" and "sovereignty" are purely inapplicable to the American system. In the Declaration of Independence the provinces declare themselves "free and independent States," but the men of those days knew that the word "sovereign" was a term of feudal origin. When their connection with a time-honored feudal monarchy was abruptly severed, the word "sovereign" had no meaning for us. A sovereign is one who acknowledges no superior, who possesses the highest authority without control, who is supreme in power. How could any one State of the United States claim such characteristics at all, least of all after its inhabitants, in their primary assemblies, had voted to submit themselves, without limitation of time, to a constitution which was declared supreme? The only intelligible source of power in a country beginning its history *de novo*

after a revolution, in a land never subjected to military or feudal conquest, is the will of the people of the whole land as expressed by a majority. At the present moment, unless the Southern revolution shall prove successful, the United States Government is a fact, an established authority. In the period between 1783 and 1787 we were in chaos. In May of 1787 the convention met in Philadelphia, and, after some months' deliberation, adopted, with unprecedented unanimity, the project of the great law, which, so soon as it should be accepted by the people, was to be known as the Constitution of the United States.

It was not a compact. Who ever heard of a compact to which there were no parties? or who ever heard of a compact made by a single party with himself? Yet the name of no State is mentioned in the whole document; the States themselves are only mentioned to receive commands or prohibitions, and the "people of the United States" is the single party by whom alone the instrument is executed.

The Constitution was not drawn up by the States, it was not promulgated in the name of the States, it was not ratified by the States. The States never acceded to it, and possess no power to secede from it. It "was ordained and established" over the States by a power superior to the States—by the people of the whole land in their aggregate capacity, acting through conventions of delegates expressly chosen for the purpose within each State, independently of the State Governments, after the project had been framed.

There had always been two parties in the country during the brief but pregnant period between the abjuration of British authority and the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. There was a party advocating State rights and local self-government in its largest sense, and a party favoring a more consolidated and national government. The National or Federal party triumphed in the adoption of the new government. It was strenuously supported and bitterly opposed on exactly the same grounds. Its friends and foes both agreed

that it had put an end to the system of confederacy. Whether it were an advantageous or a noxious change, all agreed that the thing had been done.

"In all our deliberations (says the letter accompanying and recommending the Constitution to the people) we kept steadily in view that which appeared to us the greatest interest of every true American, the *consolidation of our Union*, in which is involved our prosperity, safety, perhaps *our national existence*."—*Journal of the Convention*, 1 Story, 368.

And an eloquent opponent denounced the project for this very same reason :

"That this is a consolidated Government (said Henry), is demonstrably clear. The language is 'we, the people,' instead of 'we, the States.' It must be one great, consolidated national Government of the people of all the States."

And the Supreme Court of the United States, after the Government had been established, held this language in an important case, "*Gibbons v. Ogden*:"

"It has been said that the States *were* sovereign, were completely independent, and were connected with each other by a league. This is true. But when these allied sovereignties converted their league into a Government, when they converted their Congress of Ambassadors into a Legislature, empowered to enact laws, the whole character in which the States appear underwent a change."

There was never a disposition in any quarter, in the early days of our constitutional history, to deny this great fundamental principle of the Republic.

"In the most elaborate expositions of the Constitution by its friends (says Justice Story), its character *as a permanent form* of government, as a fundamental law, as a supreme rule, which no State was at liberty to disregard, to suspend, or to annul, was constantly admitted and insisted upon."—1 Story, 325.

The fears of its opponents, then, were that the new system would lead to a too strong, to an over-centralized Government.

The fears of its friends were that the central power of theory would prove inefficient to cope with the local or State forces, in practice. The experience of the last thirty years, and the catastrophe of the present year, have shown which class of fears were the more reasonable.

Had the Union thus established in 1787 been a confederacy, it might have been argued, with more or less plausibility, that the States which peaceably acceded to it might at pleasure peaceably secede from it. It is none the less true that such a proceeding would have stamped the members of the convention—Washington, Madison, Jay, Hamilton, and their colleagues—with utter incompetence; for nothing can be historically more certain than that their object was to extricate us from the anarchy to which that principle had brought us.

*"However gross a heresy it may be* (says the Federalist, recommending the new Constitution) *to maintain that a party to a compact has a right to revoke that compact, the doctrine has had respectable advocates. The possibility of such a question shows the necessity of laying the foundation of our national Government deeper than in the mere sanction of delegated authority. The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people."*

Certainly, the most venerated expounders of the Constitution—Jay, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, Story, Webster—were of opinion that the intention of the convention to establish a permanent, consolidated Government, a single commonwealth, had been completely successful.

*"The great and fundamental defect of the Confederation of 1781, (says Chancellor Kent,) which led to its eventual overthrow, was that, in imitation of all former confederacies, it carried the decrees of the Federal Council to the States in their sovereign capacity. The great and incurable defect of all former Federal Governments, such as the Amphictyonic, Achæan, and Lycian Confederacies, and the Germanic, Helvetic, Hanseatic, and Dutch Republics, is that they were sovereignties over sovereignties. The first effort to relieve the*



people of the country from this state of national degradation and ruin came from Virginia. The general convention afterwards met at Philadelphia in May, 1787. The plan was submitted to a convention of delegates chosen by the people at large in each State for assent and ratification. Such a measure was laying the foundations of the fabric of our national polity where alone they ought to be laid,—on the broad consent of the people.”—1 Kent, 225.

It is true that the consent of the people was given by the inhabitants voting *in* each State; but in what other conceivable way could the people of the whole country have voted?

“They assembled in the several States,” says Story; “but where else could they assemble?”

Secession is, in brief, the return to chaos from which we emerged three-quarters of a century since. No logical sequence can be more perfect. If one State has a right to secede to-day, asserting what it calls its sovereignty, another may, and probably will, do the same to-morrow, a third on the next day, and so on, until there are none left to secede from. Granted the premises that each State may peaceably secede from the Union, it follows that a county may peaceably secede from a State, and a town from a county, until there is nothing left but a horde of individuals all seceding from each other. The theory that the people of a whole country in their aggregate capacity are supreme, is intelligible; and it has been a fact, also, in America for seventy years. But it is impossible to show, if the people of a State be sovereign, that the people of a county, or of a village, and the individuals of the village, are not equally sovereign, and justified in “resuming their sovereignty” when their interests or their caprice seems to impel them. The process of disintegration brings back the community to barbarism, precisely as its converse has built up commonwealths—whether empires, kingdoms, or republics—out of original barbarism. Established authority, whatever the theory of its origin, is a fact. It should never be lightly or capriciously overturned. They who venture on the attempt

should weigh well the responsibility that is upon them. Above all they must expect to be arraigned for their deeds before the tribunal of the civilized world and of future ages—a court of last appeal, the code of which is based on the Divine principles of right and reason, which are dispassionate and eternal. No man, on either side of the Atlantic with Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins, will dispute the right of a people, or of any portion of a people to rise against oppression, to demand redress of grievances, and in case of denial of justice to take up arms to vindicate the sacred principle of liberty. Few Englishmen or Americans will deny that the source of government is the consent of the governed, or that every nation has the right to govern itself according to its will. When the silent consent is changed to *fierce* remonstrance, the revolution is impending. The right of revolution is indisputable. It is written on the whole record of our race. British and American history is made up of rebellion and revolution. Many of the crowned kings were rebels or usurpers; Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell; Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, all were rebels. It is no word of reproach; but these men all knew the work they had set themselves to do. They never called their rebellion “peaceable secession.” They were sustained by the consciousness of right when they overthrew established authority, but they meant to overthrow it. They meant rebellion, civil war, bloodshed, infinite suffering for themselves and their whole generation, for they accounted them welcome substitutes for insulted liberty and violated right. There can be nothing plainer, then, than the American right of revolution. But then it should be called revolution. “Secession, as a revolutionary right,” said Daniel Webster in the Senate nearly thirty years ago, in words that now sound prophetic:

“Is intelligible. As a right to be proclaimed in *the midst of civil commotions, and asserted at the head of armies*, I can understand it. But as a practical right, existing under the Constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it

seems to be nothing but an absurdity, for it supposes resistance to Government under authority of Government itself; it supposes dismemberment without violating the principles of Union; it supposes opposition to law without crime; it supposes the violation of oaths without responsibility; it supposes the total overthrow of Government without revolution."

The men who had conducted the American people through a long and fearful revolution, were the founders of the new commonwealth which permanently superseded the subverted authority of the Crown. They placed the foundations on the unbiassed, untrammelled consent of the people. They were sick of leagues, of petty sovereignties, of Governments which could not govern a single individual. The framers of the Constitution, which has now endured three-quarters of a century, and under which the nation has made a material and intellectual progress never surpassed in history, were not such triflers as to be ignorant of the consequences of their own acts. The Constitution which they offered and which the people adopted as its own, talked not of Sovereign States—spoke not the word confederacy. In the very preamble to the instrument are inserted the vital words which show its character: '*We, the people of the United States, to ensure a more perfect union, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.*'" *Sic volo, sic jubeo*. It is the language of a Sovereign solemnly speaking to the world. It is the promulgation of a great law, the *norma agendi* of a new commonwealth. It is no compact.

"A compact (says Blackstone) is a promise proceeding from us. Law is a command directed to us. The language of a compact is, 'We will or will not do this; that of a law is, Thou shalt or shalt not do it.'"—(1 B. 38, 44, 45.)

And this is throughout the language of the Constitution. Congress shall do this; the President shall do that; the States shall not exercise this or that power. Witness, for example, the important clauses by which the "Sovereign" States are

shorn of all the great attributes of sovereignty:—no State shall coin money, nor emit bills of credit, nor pass *ex post facto* laws, nor laws impairing the obligations of contracts, nor maintain armies and navies, nor grant letters of marque, nor make compacts with other States, nor hold intercourse with foreign Powers, nor grant titles of nobility; and that most significant phrase, “this Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, *shall be the supreme law of the land.*”

Could language be more impartial? Could the claim to State “sovereignty” be more completely disposed of at a word? How can that be sovereign, acknowledging no superior, supreme, which has voluntarily accepted a supreme law from something which it acknowledges as superior?

The Constitution is perpetual, not provisional or temporary. It is made for all time—“for ourselves and our posterity.” It is absolute within its sphere. “This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution or laws of a State to the contrary notwithstanding.” Of what value, then, is a law of a State declaring its connection with the Union dissolved? The Constitution remains supreme, and is bound to assert its supremacy till overpowered by force. The use of force—of armies and navies of whatever strength—in order to compel obedience to the civil and constitutional authority, is not “wicked war,” is not civil war, is not war at all. So long as it exists, the Government is obliged to put forth its strength when assailed. The President, who has taken an oath before God and man to maintain the Constitution and laws, is perjured if he yields the Constitution and laws to armed rebellion without a struggle. He knows nothing of States. Within the sphere of the United States Government he deals with individuals only, citizens of the the great Republic in whatever portion of it they may happen to live. He has no choice but to enforce the laws of the Republic wherever they may be resisted. When he is overpowered the Government ceases to exist. The Union is gone, and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio are as much



separated from each other as they are from Georgia or Louisiana. Anarchy has returned upon us. The dismemberment of the Commonwealth is complete. We are again in the chaos of 1785.

But it is sometimes asked why the Constitution did not make a special provision against the right of secession. How could it do so? The people created a Constitution over the whole land, with certain defined, accurately enumerated powers, and among these were all the chief attributes of sovereignty. It was forbidden to a State to coin money, to keep armies and navies, to make compacts with other States, to hold intercourse with foreign nations, to oppose the authority of Government. To do any of these things is to secede, for it would be physically impossible to do any one of them without secession. It would have been puerile for the Constitution to say formally to each State, "Thou shalt not secede." The Constitution being the supreme law, being perpetual, and having expressly forbidden to the States those acts without which secession is an impossibility, would have been wanting in dignity had it used such superfluous phraseology. This Constitution is supreme, *whatever laws a State may enact*, says the organic law. Was it necessary to add, "and no State shall enact a law of secession?" To add to a great statute, in which the sovereign authority of the land declares its will, a phrase such as "and be it further enacted that the said law shall not be violated," would scarcely seem to strengthen the statute.

It was accordingly enacted that new States might be admitted; but no permission was given for a State to secede.

Provisions were made for the amendment of the Constitution from time to time, and it was intended that those provisions should be stringent. A two-thirds vote in both Houses of Congress, and a ratification in three-quarters of the whole number of States, are conditions only to be complied with in grave emergencies. But the Constitution made no provision for its own dissolution, and, if it had done so, it would have

been a proceeding quite without example in history. A Constitution can only be subverted by revolution, or by foreign conquest of the land. The revolution may be the result of a successful rebellion. A peaceful revolution is also conceivable in the case of the United States. The same power which established the Constitution, may justly destroy it. The people of the whole land may meet, by delegates, in a great national convention, as they did in 1787, and declare that the Constitution no longer answers the purpose for which it was ordained ; that it no longer can secure the blessings of liberty for the people in present and future generations, and that it is therefore forever abolished. When that project has been submitted again to the people voting in their primary assemblies, not influenced by fraud or force, the revolution is lawfully accomplished, and the Union is no more.

Such a proceeding is conceivable, although attended with innumerable difficulties and dangers. But these are not so great as those of the civil war into which the action of the seceding States has plunged the country. The division of the national domain and other property, the navigation and police of the great rivers, the arrangement and fortifications of frontiers, the transit of the Isthmus, the mouth of the Mississippi, the control of the Gulf of Mexico, these are significant phrases which have an appalling sound ; for there is not one of them that does not contain the seeds of war. In any separation, however accomplished, these difficulties must be dealt with, but there would seem less hope of arriving at a peaceful settlement of them now that the action of the seceding States has been so precipitate and lawless. For a single State, one after another, to resume those functions of sovereignty which it had unconditionally abdicated when its people ratified the Constitution of 1787, to seize forts, arsenals, custom-houses, post-offices, mints, and other valuable property of the Union, paid for by the treasure of the Union, was not the exercise of a legal function, but it was rebellion, treason, and plunder.

It is strange that Englishmen should find difficulty in understanding that the United States Government is a nation among the nations of the earth; a constituted authority, which may be overthrown by violence, as may be the fate of any State whether kingdom or republic, but which is false to the people if it does not its best to preserve them from the horrors of anarchy, even at the cost of blood. The "United States" happens to be a plural title, but the commonwealth thus designated is a unit,—"*e pluribus unum.*" The Union alone is clothed with imperial attributes; the Union alone is known and recognized in the family of nations; the Union alone holds the purse and the sword, regulates foreign intercourse, imposes taxes on foreign commerce, makes war and concludes peace. The armies, the navies, the militia, belong to the Union alone, and the President is Commander-in-Chief of all. No State can keep troops or fleets. What man in the civilized world has not heard of the United States? What man in England can tell the names of all the individual States? And yet, with hardly a superficial examination of our history and our Constitution, men talk glibly about a confederacy, a compact, a co-partnership, and the right of a State to secede at pleasure, not knowing that, by admitting such loose phraseology and such imaginary rights, we should violate the first principles of our political organization, should fly in the face of our history, should trample under foot the teachings of Jay, Hamilton, Washington, Marshall, Madison, Dane, Kent, Story, and Webster, and, accepting only the dogmas of Mr. Calhoun as infallible, surrender forever our national laws and our national existence.

Englishmen themselves live in a united empire; but if the kingdom of Scotland should secede, should seize all the national property, forts, arsenals, and public treasure on its soil, organize an army, send forth foreign Ministers to Louis Napoleon, the Emperor of Austria, and other powers, issue invitations to all the pirates of the world to prey upon English commerce, screening their piracy from punishment by the

banner of Scotland, and should announce its intention of planting that flag upon Buckingham Palace, it is probable that a blow or two would be struck to defend the national honor and the national existence, without fear that the civil war would be denounced as wicked and fratricidal. Yet it would be difficult to show that the State of Florida, for example, a Spanish province, purchased for national purposes some forty years ago by the United States Government for several millions, and fortified and furnished with navy yards for national uses, at a national expense of many more millions, and numbering at this moment a population of only 80,000 white men, should be more entitled to resume its original sovereignty than the ancient kingdom of William the Lion and Robert Bruce.

The terms of the treaty between England and Scotland were perpetual, and so is the Constitution of the United States. The United Empire may be destroyed by revolution and war, and so may the United States; but a peaceful and legal dismemberment without the consent of a majority of the whole people, is an impossibility.

But it is sometimes said that the American Republic originated in secession from the mother country, and that it is unreasonable of the Union to resist the seceding movement on the part of the new confederacy. But it so happens that the one case suggests the other only by the association of contrast. The thirteen colonies did not intend to secede from the British empire. They were forced into secession by a course of policy on the part of the mother country such as no English administration at the present day can be imagined capable of adopting. Those Englishmen in America were loyal to the Crown; but they exercised the right which cis-Atlantic or transatlantic Englishmen have always exercised, of resistance to arbitrary government. Taxed without being represented, and insulted by measures taken to enforce the odious, but not exorbitant imposts, they did not secede, nor declare their independence. On the contrary they made every effort to avert such a conclu-



sion. In the words of the "forest-born Demosthenes"—as Lord Byron called the great Virginian, Patrick Henry—the Americans "petitioned, remonstrated, cast themselves at the foot of the throne, and implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the Ministers and Parliament. But their petitions were slighted, their remonstrances procured only additional violence and insult, and they were spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne."

The "Boston Massacre," the Boston port-bill, the Boston "tea-party," the battle of Lexington, the battle of Bunker's Hill, were events which long preceded the famous Declaration of Independence. It was not till the colonists felt that redress for grievances was impossible that they took the irrevocable step, and renounced their allegiance to the crown. The revolution had come at last, they had been forced into it, but they knew that it was revolution, and that they were acting at the peril of their lives. "We must be unanimous in this business," said Hancock: "we must all hang together." "Yes," replied Franklin, "or else we shall all hang separately."

The risk incurred by the colonists was enormous, but the injury to the mother country was comparatively slight. They went out into darkness and danger themselves, but the British empire was not thrown into anarchy and chaos by their secession.

Thus their course was the reverse of that adopted by the South. The prompt secession of seven States because of the constitutional election of a President over the candidates voted for by their people, was the redress in advance of grievances which they may reasonably or unreasonably, have expected, but which had not yet occurred. There is the high authority of the Vice-President of the Southern "Confederacy," who declared a week after the election of Mr. Lincoln that the election was not a cause for secession, and that there was no certainty that he would have either the power or the inclination to invade the constitutional rights of the South. In the Free States it was held that the resolutions of the conven-

tion by which Mr. Lincoln was nominated were scrupulously and conscientiously framed to protect all those constitutional rights. The question of slavery in the Territories, of the future extension of slavery, was one which had always been an open question and on which issue was now joined. But it was no question at all that slavery within a State was sacred from all interference by the General Government, or by the free States, or by individuals in those States; and the Chicago Convention strenuously asserted that doctrine.

The question of free trade, which is thrust before the English public by many journals, had no immediate connection with the secession, although doubtless the desire of *direct* trade with Europe has long been a prominent motive at the South. The Gulf States seceded under the moderate tariff of 1857, for which South Carolina voted side by side with Massachusetts. The latter State, although for political not economical reasons, it thought itself obliged since the secession to sustain the Pennsylvania interest by voting for the absurd Morrill Bill, is not in favor of protection. On the contrary, the great manufactories on the Merrimac river have long been independent of protection, and export many million dollars' worth of cotton and other fabrics to foreign countries, underselling or competing with all the world in open market. It would be impossible for any European nation to drive the American manufacturer from the markets of the American continent in the principal articles of *cheap clothing for the masses*, tariff or no tariff. This is a statistical fact which cannot be impugned.

The secession of the colonies, after years of oppression and grievances for which redress had been sought in vain, left the British empire, 3,000 miles off, in security, with Constitution and laws unimpaired, even if its colonial territory were seriously diminished. The secession of the Southern States, in contempt of any other remedy for expected grievances, is followed by the destruction of the whole body politic of which they were vital parts.

Not only is the United Republic destroyed if the revolution prove successful; but, even if the people of the Free States have the enthusiasm and sagacity to reconstruct their Union, and by a new national convention to re-ordain and re-establish the time-honored Constitution, still an immense territory is lost. But the extent of that territory is not the principal element in the disaster. The world is wide enough for all. It is the loss of the southern marine frontier which is fatal to the Republic. Florida and the vast Louisiana territory purchased by the Union from foreign countries, and garnished with fortresses at the expense of the Union, are fallen with all these improvements into the hands of a foreign and unfriendly Power. Should the dire misfortune of a war with a great maritime nation, with England or France for example, befall the Union, its territory, hitherto almost impregnable, might now be open to fleets and armies acting in alliance with a hostile "Confederacy," which has become possessed of an important part of the Union's maritime line of defence. Moreover, the Union has 12,000 ships, numbering more than 5,000,000 tons, the far greater part of which belongs to the Free States, and the vast commerce of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico requires and must receive protection at every hazard.

Is it strange that the Union should make a vigorous, just, and lawful effort to save itself from the chaos from which the Constitution of 1787 rescued the country? Who that has read and pondered the history of that dark period does not shudder at the prospect of its return? But yesterday we were a State—the Great Republic—prosperous and powerful, with a flag known and honored all over the world. Seventy years ago we were a helpless league of bankrupt and lawless petty sovereignties. We had a currency so degraded that a leg of mutton was cheap at \$1,000. The national debt, incurred in the War of Independence, had hardly a nominal value, and was considered worthless. The absence of law, order, and security for life and property was as absolute as

could be well conceived in a civilized land. Debts could not be collected, courts could enforce no decrees, insurrections could not be suppressed. The army of the Confederacy numbered *eighty men*. From this condition the Constitution rescued us.

That great law, reported by the general Convention of 1787, was ratified by the people of all the land voting in each State for a ratifying convention chosen expressly for that purpose. It was promulgated in the name of the people: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution." It was ratified by the people—*not by the States* acting through their governments, legislative and executive, but by the people electing especial delegates within each State; and it is important to remember that in none of these ratifying conventions was any reserve made of a State's right to repeal the Union, or to secede.

Many criticisms were offered in the various ratifying ordinances, many amendments suggested, but the acceptance of the Constitution, the submission to the perpetual law, was in all cases absolute. The language of Virginia was most explicit on this point. "The powers granted under the Constitution, *being derived from the people of the United States*, may be *resumed by them* whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression." That the people of the United States, expressing their will solemnly in national convention, are competent to undo the work of their ancestors, and are fully justified in so doing when the Constitution shall be perverted to their injury and oppression, there is no man in the land that doubts. This course has been already indicated as the only peaceful revolution possible; but such a proceeding is very different from the secession ordinance of a single State resuming its sovereignty of its own free will, and without consultation with the rest of the inhabitants of the country.

"There was no reservation (says Justice Story) of any



right on the part of any State to dissolve its connection, or to abrogate its dissent, or to suspend the operation of the Constitution as to itself."

And thus, when the ratifications had been made, a new commonwealth took its place among the nations of the earth. The effects of the new Constitution were almost magical. Order sprang out of chaos. Law resumed its reign; debts were collected; life and property became secure; the national debt was funded and ultimately paid, principal and interest, to the uttermost farthing; the articles of the treaty of peace in 1783 were fulfilled, and Great Britain, having an organized and united State to deal with, entered into a treaty of commerce and amity with us—the first and the best ever negotiated between the two nations. Not the least noble of its articles (the 21st) provided that the acceptance by the citizens or subjects of either country of foreign letters of marque should be treated and *punished as piracy*. Unfortunately, that article and several others were limited to twelve years, and were not subsequently renewed. The debts due to British subjects were collected, and the British Government at last surrendered the forts on our soil.

At last we were a nation, with a flag respected abroad and almost idolized at home as the symbol of union and coming greatness; and we entered upon a career of prosperity and progress never surpassed in history. The autonomy of each State, according to which its domestic and interior affairs are subject to the domestic legislature and executive, was secured by the reservation to each State of powers not expressly granted to the Union by the Constitution. Supreme within its own orbit, which is traced from the same centre of popular power whence the wider circumference of the General Government is described, the individual State is surrounded on all sides by that all-embracing circle. The reserved and unnamed powers are many and important, but the State is closely circumscribed. Thus, a State is forbidden to alter its form of government. "Thou shalt forever remain a republic," says

the United States Constitution to each individual State. A State is forbidden, above all, to pass any law conflicting with the United States Constitution or laws. Moreover, every member of Congress, every member of a State legislature, every executive or judicial officer in the service of the Union or of a separate State, is bound by solemn oath to maintain the United States Constitution. This alone would seem to settle the question of secession ordinances. So long as the Constitution endures, such an ordinance is merely the act of conspiring and combining individuals, with whom the General Government may deal. When it falls in the struggle, and becomes powerless to cope with them, the Constitution has been destroyed by violence. Peaceful acquiescence in such combinations is perjury and treason on the part of the chief magistrate of the country, for which he may be impeached and executed. Yet men speak of Mr. Lincoln as having plunged into wicked war. They censure him for not negotiating with envoys who came, not to settle grievances, but to demand recognition of the dismemberment of the Republic which he has just sworn to maintain.

It is true that the ordinary daily and petty affairs of men come more immediately than larger matters under the cognizance of the State governments, tending thus to foster local patriotism and local allegiance. At the same time, as all controversies between citizens of different States come within the sphere of the Federal courts, and as the manifold and conflicting currents of so rapid a national life as the American can rarely be confined within narrow geographical boundaries, it follows that the Federal courts, even for domestic purposes as well as foreign, are parts of the daily, visible functions of the body politic. The Union is omnipresent. The custom-house, the court-house, the arsenal, the village post-office, the muskets of the militia make the authority of the General Government a constant fact. Moreover, the restless, migratory character of the population, which rarely permits all the members of one family to remain denizens of any one State,

has interlaced the States with each other and all with the Union to such an extent that a painless excision of a portion of the whole nation is an impossibility. To cut away the pound of flesh and draw no drop of blood surpasses human ingenuity.

Neither the opponents nor friends of the new Government in the first generation after its establishment held the doctrine of secession. The States' right party and the Federal party disliked or cherished the Government because of the general conviction that it was a constituted and centralized authority, permanent and indivisible, like that of any other organized nation. Each party continued to favor or to oppose a strict construction of the instrument; but the doctrine of nullification and secession was a plant of later growth. It was an accepted fact that the United States was not a confederacy. That word was never used in the Constitution except once by *way of prohibition*. We were a nation, not a copartnership, except indeed in the larger sense in which every nation may be considered a copartnership—a copartnership of the present with the past and with the future. To borrow the lofty language of Burke :

“A State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to gross animal existence, of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection, a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.”

And the simple phrase of the preamble to our Constitution is almost as pregnant :—“To secure the blessings of liberty to us and our *posterity*.”

But as the innumerable woes of disunion out of which we had been rescued by the Constitution began to fade into the past, the allegiance to the Union, in certain regions of the country, seemed rapidly to diminish. It was reserved to the subtle genius of Mr. Calhoun, one of the most logical, brilliant, and persuasive orators that ever lived, to embody once more, in a set of sounding sophisms, the main arguments which had been unsuccessfully used in a former generation to prevent the adoption of the Constitution, and to exhibit them now as legitimate deductions from the Constitution. The memorable tariff controversy was the occasion in which the argument of State sovereignty was put forth in all its strength. In regard to the dispute itself there can be no doubt that the South was in the right and the North in the wrong. The production by an exaggerated tariff of a revenue so much over and above the wants of Government, that it was at last divided among the separate States, and foolishly squandered, was the most triumphant *reductio ad absurdum* that the South could have desired. But it is none the less true that the nullification by a State legislature of a Federal law was a greater injury to the whole nation than a foolish tariff, long since repealed, had inflicted. It was a stab to the Union in its vital part. The blow was partially parried, but it may be doubted whether the wound has ever healed.

Tariffs, the protective system, free trade,—although the merits of these questions must be considered as settled by sound thinkers in all civilized lands, must nevertheless still remain in some countries the subjects of honest argument and legitimate controversy. When all parts of a country are represented—and especially in the case of the United States, where the Southern portion has three-fifths of a certain kind of “property” represented, while the North has no property represented—reason should contend with error for victory, trusting to its innate strength. And until after the secession of the Gulf States the moderate tariff of 1857 was in operation, with no probability of its repeal. Moreover, the advo-



cates of the enlightened system of free trade should reflect that should the fourteen Slave States become permanently united in a separate confederacy, the state of their internal affairs will soon show a remarkable revolution. The absence of the Fugitive law will necessarily drive all the slaves from what are called the border States; and he must be a shallow politician who dreams here in England that free trade with all the world, and direct taxation for revenue, will be the policy of the new and expensive military empire which will arise. Manufactures of cotton and woolen will spring up on every river and mountain stream in the Northern Slave States, the vast mineral wealth of their territories will require development, and the cry for protection to native industry in one quarter will be as surely heeded as will be that other cry from the Gulf of Mexico, now partially suppressed for obvious reasons, for the African slave trade. To establish a great Gulf empire, including Mexico, Central America, Cuba, and other islands, with unlimited cotton fields and unlimited negroes, this is the golden vision in pursuit of which the great Republic has been sacrificed, the beneficent Constitution subverted. And already the vision has fled, but the work of destruction remains.

The mischief caused by a tariff, however selfish or however absurd, may be temporary. In the last nineteen years there have been four separate tariffs passed by the American Congress, and nothing is more probable than that the suicidal Morrill tariff will receive essential modifications even in the special session of July; but the woes caused by secession and civil war are infinite: and whatever be the result of the contest, this generation is not likely to forget the injuries already inflicted.

The great Secession, therefore, of 1860-61, is a rebellion, like any other insurrection, against established authority, and has been followed by civil war, as its immediate and inevitable consequence. If successful it is revolution; and whether successful or not, it will be judged before the tribunal of man-

kind and posterity according to the eternal laws of reason and justice.

Time and history will decide whether it was a good and sagacious deed to destroy a fabric of so long duration, because of the election of Mr. Lincoln; whether it were wise and noble to substitute over a large portion of the American soil a Confederacy of which slavery, in the words of its Vice-President, is the corner-stone, for the old Republic, of which Washington, with his own hand, laid the corner-stone.

It is conceded by the North that it has received from the Union innumerable blessings. But it would seem that the Union has also conferred benefit on the South. It has carried its mails at a large expense. It has recaptured its fugitive slaves. It has purchased vast tracts of foreign territory, out of which a whole tier of slave States has been constructed. It has annexed Texas. It has made war with Mexico. It has made an offer—not likely to be repeated, however—to purchase Cuba, with its multitude of slaves, at a price according to report as large as the sum paid by England for the emancipation of her slaves. Individuals in the free States have expressed themselves freely on slavery, as upon every topic of human thought, and this must ever be the case where there is freedom of the press and of speech. The number of professed abolitionists has hitherto been very small, while the great body of the two principal political parties in the free States have been strongly opposed to them. The Republican party was determined to set bounds to the extension of slavery, while the Democratic party favored that system, but neither had designs secret or avowed against slavery within the States. They knew that the question could only be legally and rationally dealt with by the States themselves. But both the parties, as present events are so signally demonstrating, were imbued with a passionate attachment to the Constitution—to the established authority of Government by which alone our laws and our liberty are secured. All parties in the free States are now united as one man inspired by a noble

and generous emotion to vindicate the sullied honor of their flag, and to save their country from the abyss of perdition into which it seemed descending.

Of the ultimate result we have no intention of speaking. Only the presumptuous will venture to lift the veil and affect to read with accuracy coming events, the most momentous perhaps of our times. One result is, however, secured. The Montgomery Constitution, with slavery for its corner-stone, is not likely to be accepted, as but lately seemed possible, not only by all the slave States, but even by the border free States; nor to be proclaimed from Washington as the new national law, in the name of the United States. Compromises will no longer be offered by peace conventions, in which slavery is to be made national, negroes declared property over all the land, and slavery extended over all Territories now possessed or hereafter to be acquired. Nor is the United States Government yet driven from Washington.

Events are rapidly unrolling themselves, and it will be proved, in course of time, whether the North will remain united in its inflexible purpose, whether the South is as firmly united, or whether a counter revolution will be effected in either section, which must necessarily give the victory to its opponents. We know nothing of the schemes or plans of either Government.

The original design of the Republican party was to put an end to the perpetual policy of slavery extension, and acquisition of foreign territory for that purpose, and at the same time to maintain the Constitution and the integrity of the Republic. This at the South seemed an outrage which justified civil war; for events have amply proved what sagacious statesmen prophesied thirty years ago—that secession is civil war.

If all is to end in negotiation and separation, notwithstanding the almost interminable disputes concerning frontiers, the strongholds in the Gulf, and the unshackled navigation of the great rivers throughout their whole length, which, it is

probable, will never be abandoned by the North, except as the result of total defeat in the field, it is at any rate certain that both parties will negotiate more equitably with arms in their hands than if the unarmed of either section were to deal with the armed. If it comes to permanent separation, too, it is certain that in the Commonwealth which will still glory in the name of the United States, and whose people will doubtless re-establish the old Constitution, with some important amendments, the word secession will be a sound of woe not to be lightly uttered. It will have been proved to designate, not a peaceful and natural function of political life, but to be only another expression for revolution, bloodshed, and all the horrors of civil war.

It is probable that a long course of years will be run, and many inconveniences and grievances endured, before any one of the free States will secede from the reconstructed Union.

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#### IV.

##### EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS AGAINST SECESSION.

MR. STEPHENS entered the Hall at the hour of 7 p. m., and was greeted with long and rapturous applause. He then rose and said :

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I appear before you to-night at the request of members of the Legislature and others, to speak of matters of the deepest interest that can possibly concern us all, of an earthly character. There is nothing—no question or subject connected with this life—that concerns a free people so intimately as that of the Government under which they live. We are now, indeed, surrounded by evils. Never since I entered upon the public stage has the country been so environed with difficulties and dangers that threatened the



public peace and the very existence of society as now. I do not now appear before you at my own instance. It is not to gratify desires of my own that I am here. Had I consulted my own ease and pleasure I should not be before you; but, believing it is the duty of every good citizen to give his counsels and views whenever the country is in danger, as to the best policy to be pursued, I am here. For these reasons, and these only, do I bespeak a calm, patient, and attentive hearing.

My object is not to stir up strife, but to allay it; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason. Good governments can never be built up or sustained by the impulse of passion. I wish to address myself to your good sense, to your good judgment, and if after hearing you disagree, let us agree to disagree, and part as we met, friends. We all have the same object, the same interest. That people should disagree in republican governments, upon questions of public policy, is natural. That men should disagree upon all matters connected with human investigation, whether relating to science or human conduct, is natural. Hence, in free governments parties will arise. But a free people should express their different opinions with liberality and charity, with no acrimony toward those of their fellows, when honestly and sincerely given. These are my feelings to-night.

Let us, therefore, reason together. It is not my purpose to say aught to wound the feelings of any individual who may be present; and if in the ardency with which I shall express my opinions, I shall say any thing which may be deemed too strong, let it be set down to the zeal with which I advocate my own convictions. There is with me no intention to irritate or offend.

The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency of the United States? My countrymen, *I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought.* In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that

high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that too in accordance with the proscribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves, withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. (Applause.) Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts; but let not the South, let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election of this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.

But it is said Mr. Lincoln's policy and principles are against the Constitution, and that if he carries them out it will be destructive of our rights. Let us not anticipate a threatened evil. If he violates the Constitution then will come our time to act. Do not let us break it because, forsooth, he may. If he does, that is the time for us to strike. (Applause.) I think it would be injudicious and unwise to do this sooner. I do not anticipate that Mr. Lincoln will do

any thing to jeopard our safety or security, whatever may be his spirit to do it ; for he is bound by the constitutional checks which are thrown around him, which at this time render him powerless to do any great mischief. This shows the wisdom of our system. The President of the United States is no emperor, no dictator—he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him.

In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. This, after the loss of Bigler, Fitch, and others, by the unfortunate dissensions of the National Democratic party in their States. Mr. Lincoln cannot appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate—he cannot form a cabinet without the same consent. He will be in the condition of George III., (the embodiment of Toryism,) who had to ask the Whigs to appoint his ministers, and was compelled to receive a cabinet utterly opposed to his views ; and so Mr. Lincoln will be compelled to ask of the Senate to choose for him a cabinet, if the Democracy of that body choose to put him on such terms. He will be compelled to do this or let the Government stop, if the National Democratic men—for that is their name at the North—the conservative men in the Senate, should so determine. Then, how can Mr. Lincoln obtain a cabinet which would aid him, or allow him to violate the Constitution ?

Why then, I say, should we disrupt the ties of this Union when his hands are tied, when he can do nothing against us ? I have heard it mooted that no man in the State of Georgia, who is true to her interests, could hold office under Mr. Lincoln. But, I ask, who appoints to office ? Not the President alone ; the Senate has to concur. No man can be appointed without the consent of the Senate. Should any man then refuse to hold office that was given to him by a Democratic Senate ? [Mr. Toombs interrupted and said if the Senate was democratic it was for Mr. Breckinridge.]

Well, then, continued Mr. S., I apprehend no man could be justly considered untrue to the interests of Georgia, or incur any disgrace, if the interests of Georgia required it, to hold an office which a Breckinridge Senate had given him, even though Mr. Lincoln should be President. (Prolonged applause, mingled with interruptions.)

I trust, my countrymen, you will be still and silent. I am addressing your good sense. I am giving you my views in a calm and dispassionate manner, and if any of you differ with me, you can, on any other occasion, give your views as I am doing now, and let reason and true patriotism decide between us. In my judgment, I say under such circumstances, there would be no possible disgrace for a Southern man to hold office. No man will be suffered to be appointed, I have no doubt, who is not true to the Constitution, if Southern Senators are true to their trusts, as I cannot permit myself to doubt that they will be.

My honorable friend who addressed you last night, (Mr. Toombs,) and to whom I listened with the profoundest attention, asks if we would submit to Black Republican rule? I say to you and to him, as a Georgian, I never would submit to any Black Republican *aggression* upon our constitutional rights. I will never consent myself, as much as I admire this Union for the glories of the past, or the blessings of the present, as much as it has done for the people of all these States, as much as it has done for civilization, as much as the hopes of the world hang upon it, I would never submit to aggression upon my rights to maintain it longer; and if they cannot be maintained in the Union, standing on the Georgia platform, where I have stood from the time of its adoption, I would be in favor of disrupting every tie which binds the States together.

I will have equality for Georgia and for the citizens of Georgia in this Union, or I will look for new safeguards elsewhere. This is my position. The only question now is, can they be secured in the Union? That is what I am counselling



with you to-night about. Can it be secured? In my judgment it may be, but it may not be; but let us do all we can, so that in the future, if the worst come, it may never be said we were negligent in doing our duty to the last.

My countrymen, I am not of those who believe this Union has been a curse up to this time. True men, men of integrity, entertain different views from me on this subject. I do not question their right to do so; I would not impugn their motives in so doing. Nor will I undertake to say that this Government of our fathers is perfect. There is nothing perfect in this world of a human origin. Nothing connected with human nature, from man himself to any of his works. You may select the wisest and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects are there in the administration of justice? You may select the wisest and best men for your legislators, and yet how many defects are apparent in your laws? And it is so in our Government.

But that this Government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good Governments than any other on the face of the earth is my settled conviction. Contrast it now with any on the face of the earth. [England, said Mr. Toombs.]—England, my friend says. Well, that is the next best, I grant; but I think we have improved upon England. Statesmen tried their apprentice hands on the Government of England, and then ours was made. Ours sprung from that, avoiding many of its defects, taking most of the good and leaving out many of its errors, and from the whole constructing and building up of this model Republic—the best which the history of the world gives any account of.

Compare, my friends, this Government with that of Spain, Mexico, the South American Republics, Germany, Ireland—are there any sons of that down-trodden nation here to-night?—Prussia, or if you travel further East, to Turkey or China. Where will you go, following the sun in its circuit round our globe, to find a Government that better protects the liberties of its people, and secures to them the blessings we

enjoy ? (Applause.) I think that one of the evils that beset us is a surfeit of liberty, an exuberance of the priceless blessings for which we are ungrateful. We listened to my honorable friend who addressed you last night, (Mr. Toombs,) as he recounted the evils of this Government.

The first was the fishing bounties, paid mostly to the sailors of New England. Our friend stated that forty-eight years of our Government was under the administration of Southern Presidents. Well, these fishing bounties began under the rule of a Southern President, I believe. No one of them during the whole forty-eight years ever set his Administration against the principle or policy of them. It is not for me to say whether it was a wise policy in the beginning ; it probably was not, and I have nothing to say in its defence. But the reason given for it was to encourage our young men to go to sea and learn to manage ships. We had at the time but a small navy. It was thought best to encourage a class of our people to become acquainted with seafaring life ; to become sailors ; to man our naval ships. It requires practice to walk the deck of a ship, to pull the ropes, to furl the sails, to go aloft, to climb the mast ; and it was thought, by offering this bounty, a nursery might be formed in which young men would become perfected in these arts, and it applied to one section of the country as well as to any other.

The result of this was, that in the war of 1812 our sailors, many of whom came from this nursery, were equal to any that England brought against us. At any rate, no small part of the glories of that war were gained by the veteran tars of America, and the object of these bounties was to foster that branch of our national defence. My opinion is, that whatever may have been the reason at first, this bounty ought to be discontinued—the reason for it at first no longer exists. A bill for this object did pass the Senate the last Congress I was in, to which my honorable friend contributed greatly, but it was not reached in the House of Representatives. I trust that he may yet see that he may with honor continue his

connection with the Government, and that his eloquence, unrivalled in the Senate, may hereafter, as heretofore, be displayed in having this bounty, so obnoxious to him, repealed and wiped off from the statute-book.

The next evil that my friend complained of was the Tariff. Well, let us look at that for a moment. About the time I commenced noticing public matters, this question was agitating the country almost as fearfully as the slave question now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South Carolina was ready to nullify or secede from the Union on this account. And what have we seen? The Tariff no longer distracts the public councils. Reason has triumphed! The present Tariff was voted for by Massachusetts and South Carolina. The lion and the lamb lay down together—every man in the Senate and House from Massachusetts and South Carolina, I think, voted for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my honorable friend, that every man in the North that works in iron and brass and wood has his muscle strengthened by the protection of the Government, that stimulant was given by his vote, and I believe every other Southern man. So we ought not to complain of that.

Mr. Toombs—The tariff assessed the duties.

Mr. Stephens—Yes, and Massachusetts with unanimity voted with the South to lessen them, and they were made just as low as Southern men asked them to be, and that is the rates they are now at. If reason and argument, with experience, produced such changes in the sentiments of Massachusetts from 1832 to 1857, on the subject of the tariff, may not like changes be effected there by the same means—reason and argument, and appeals to patriotism on the present vexed question; and who can say that by 1875 or 1890 Massachusetts may not vote with South Carolina and Georgia upon all those questions that now distract the country, and threaten its peace and existence. I believe in the power and efficiency

of truth, in the omnipotence of truth, and its ultimate triumph when properly wielded. (Applause.)

Another matter of grievance alluded to by my honorable friend was the navigation laws. This policy was also commenced under the Administration of one of these Southern Presidents who ruled so well, and has been continued through all of them since. The gentleman's views of the policy of these laws and my own do not disagree. We occupied the same ground in relation to them in Congress. It is not my purpose to defend them now. But it is proper to state some matters connected with their origin.

One of the objects was to build up a commercial American marine by giving American bottoms the exclusive carrying trade between our own ports. This is a great arm of national power. This object was accomplished. We have now an amount of shipping, not only coastwise, but to foreign countries, which puts us in the front rank of the nations of the world. England can no longer be styled the Mistress of the Seas. What American is not proud of the result? Whether those laws should be continued is another question. But one thing is certain: no President, Northern or Southern, has ever yet recommended their repeal. And my friend's efforts to get them repealed were met with but little favor, North or South.

These, then, were the two main grievances or grounds of complaint against the general system of our Government and its workings—I mean the administration of the Federal Government. As to the acts of the Federal States, I shall speak presently, but these three were the main ones used against the common head. Now, suppose it be admitted that all of these are evils in the system; do they overbalance and outweigh the advantages and great good which this same Government affords in a thousand innumerable ways that cannot be estimated? Have we not at the South, as well as the North, grown great, prosperous, and happy under its operation? Has any part of the world ever shown such rapid



progress in the development of wealth, and all the material resources of national power and greatness, as the Southern States have under the General Government, notwithstanding all its defects?

Mr. Toombs—In spite of it.

Mr. Stephens—My honorable friend says we have, in spite of the General Government; that without it I suppose he thinks we might have done as well, or perhaps better, than we have done; this is in spite of it. That may be, and it may not be; but the great fact that we have grown great and powerful under the Government as it exists, there is no conjecture or speculation about that; it stands out bold, high, and prominent like your Stone Mountain, to which the gentleman alluded in illustrating home facts in his record—this great fact of our unrivalled prosperity in the Union as it is, is admitted; whether all this is in spite of the Government—whether we of the South would have been better off without the Government—is, to say the least, problematical. On the one side we can only put the fact against speculation and conjecture on the other. But even as a question of speculation I differ with my distinguished friend.

What we would have lost in border wars without the Union, or what we have gained simply by the peace it has secured, no estimate can be made of. Our foreign trade, which is the foundation of all our prosperity, has the protection of the navy, which drove the pirates from the waters near our coast, where they had been buccaneering for centuries before, and might have been still, had it not been for the American Navy under the command of such spirits as Commodore Porter. Now that the coast is clear, that our commerce flows freely outwardly, we cannot well estimate how it would have been under other circumstances. The influence of the Government on us is like that of the atmosphere around us. Its benefits are so silent and unseen that they are seldom thought of or appreciated.

We seldom think of the single element of oxygen in the air

we breathe, and yet let this simple, unseen, and unfelt agent be withdrawn, this life-giving element be taken away from this all-pervading fluid around us, and what instant and appalling changes would take place in all organic creation.

It may be that we are all that we are in "spite of the General Government," but it may be that without it we should have been far different from what we are now. It is true there is no equal part of the earth with natural resources superior perhaps to ours. That portion of this country known as the Southern States, stretching from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, is fully equal to the picture drawn by the honorable and eloquent Senator last night, in all natural capacities. But how many ages and centuries passed before these capacities were developed to reach this advanced age of civilization? There these same hills, rich in ore, same rivers, same valleys and plains, are as they have been since they came from the hand of the Creator; uneducated and uncivilized man roamed over them for how long no history informs us.

It was only under our institutions that they could be developed. Their development is the result of the enterprise of our people under operations of the Government and institutions under which we have lived. Even our people without these never would have done it. The organization of society has much to do with the development of the natural resources of any country or any land. The institutions of a people, political and moral, are the matrix in which the germ of their organic structure quickens into life—takes root and develops its form, nature, and character. Our institutions constitute the basis, the matrix, from which spring all our characteristics of development and greatness. Look at Greece. There is the same fertile soil, the same blue sky, the same inlets and harbors, the same *Ægean*, the same *Olympus*; there is the same land where *Homer* sung, where *Pericles* spoke; it is in nature the same old Greece—but it is living Greece no more. (Applause.)

Descendants of the same people inhabit the country; yet

what is the reason of this mighty difference? In the midst of present degradation we see the glorious fragments of ancient works of art—temples with ornaments and inscriptions that excite wonder and admiration—the remains of a once high order of civilization which have outlived the language they spoke—upon them all Ichabod is written—their glory has departed. Why is this so? I answer, their institutions have been destroyed. These were but the fruits of their forms of government, the matrix from which their grand development sprung, and when once the institutions of a people have been destroyed, there is no earthly power that can bring back the Promethean spark to kindle them here again, any more than in that ancient land of eloquence, poetry, and song. (Applause.)

The same may be said of Italy. Where is Rome, once the mistress of the world? There are the same seven hills now, the same soil, the same natural resources; nature is the same, but what a ruin of human greatness meets the eye of the traveler throughout the length and breadth of that most down-trodden land! Why have not the people of that heaven-favored clime the spirit that animated their fathers? Why this sad difference?

It is the destruction of her institutions that has caused it; and, my countrymen, if we shall in an evil hour rashly pull down and destroy those institutions which the patriotic hand of our fathers labored so long and so hard to build up, and which have done so much for us and the world, who can venture the prediction that similar results will not ensue? Let us avoid it if we can. I trust the spirit is amongst us that will enable us to do it. Let us not rashly try the experiment, for if it fails as it did in Greece and Italy, and in the South American Republics, and in every other place, wherever liberty is once destroyed, it may never be restored to us again. (Applause.)

There are defects in our Government, errors in administration, and shortcomings of many kinds, but in spite of these

defects and errors, Georgia has grown to be a great State. Let us pause here a moment. In 1850 there was a great crisis, but not so fearful as this, for of all I have ever passed through, this is the most perilous, and requires to be met with the greatest calmness and deliberation.

There were many amongst us in 1850 zealous to go at once out of the Union, to disrupt every tie that binds us together. Now do you believe, had that policy been carried out at that time, we would have been the same great people that we are to-day? It may be that we would, but have you any assurance of that fact? Would you have made the same advancement, improvement, and progress in all that constitutes material wealth and prosperity that you have?

I notice in the Comptroller-General's report, that the taxable property of Georgia is \$670,000,000 and upwards, an amount not far from double what it was in 1850. I think I may venture to say that for the last ten years the material wealth of the people of Georgia has been nearly if not quite doubled. The same may be said of our advance in education, and every thing that marks our civilization. Have we any assurance that had we regarded the earnest but misguided patriotic advice, as I think, of some of that day, and disrupted the ties which bind us to the Union, we would have advanced as we have? I think not. Well, then, let us be careful now before we attempt any rash experiment of this sort. I know that there are friends whose patriotism I do not intend to question, who think this Union a curse, and that we would be better off without it. I do not so think; if we can bring about a correction of these evils which threaten—and I am not without hope that this may yet be done—this appeal to go out, with all the provisions for good that accompany it, I look upon as a great and I fear a fatal temptation.

When I look around and see our prosperity in every thing, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if



we can without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to—let us not too readily yield to this temptation—do so. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened—and that they would become as gods. They in an evil hour yielded—instead of becoming gods they only saw their own nakedness.

I look upon this country with our institutions as the Eden of the world; the paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we rashly evince passion and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy—instead of becoming gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these difficulties, great as they are, like wise and sensible men, and consider them in the light of all the consequences which may attend our action. Let us see first clearly where the path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to tread therein.

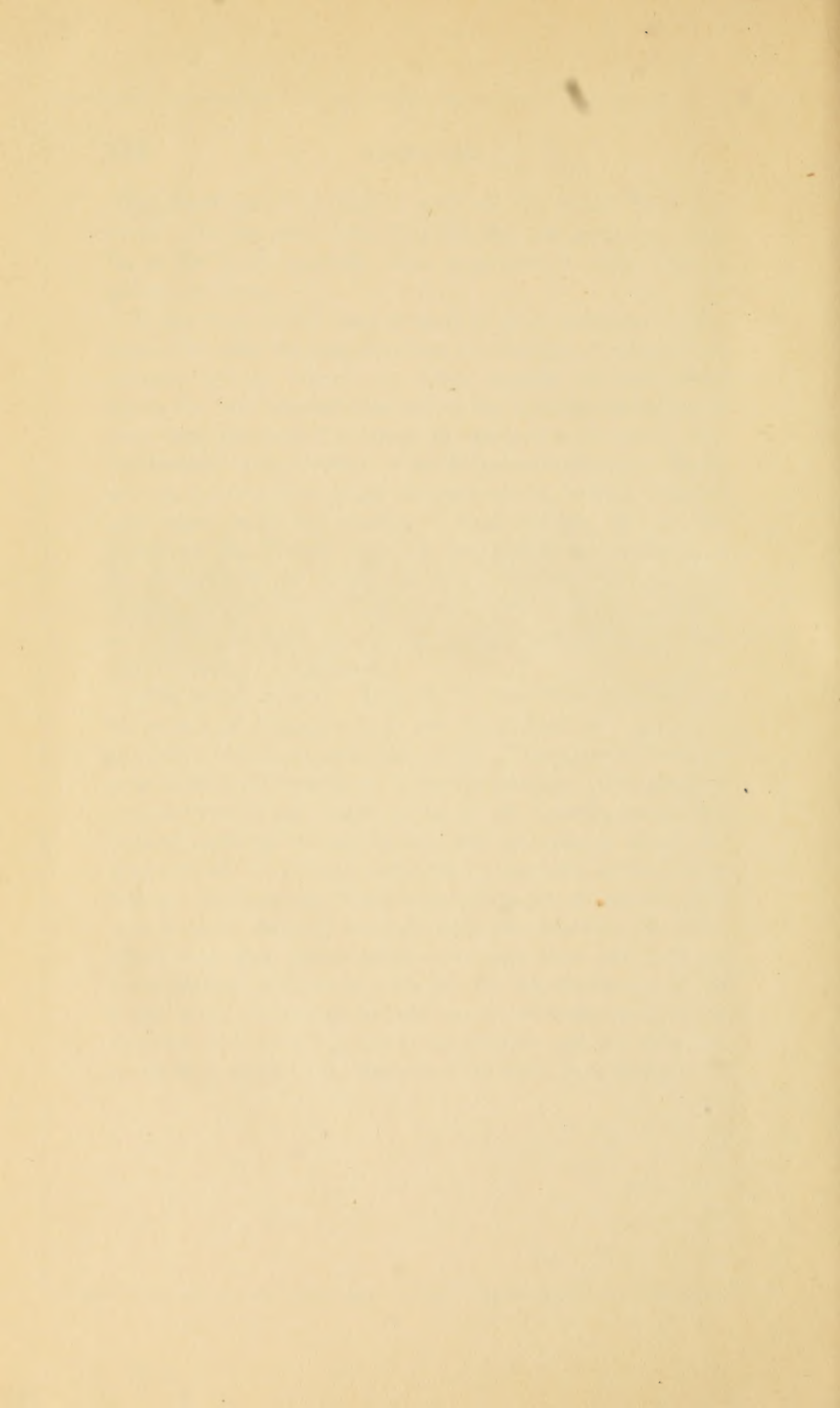
I come now to the main question put to me, and on which my counsel has been asked. That is, what the present Legislature should do in view of the dangers that threaten us, and the wrongs that have been done us by several of our Confederate States in the Union, by the acts of their legislatures nullifying the fugitive slave law, and in direct disregard of their constitutional obligations. What I shall say will not be in the spirit of dictation. It will be simply my own judgment for what it is worth. It proceeds from a strong conviction that according to it our rights, interests, and honor—our present safety and future security can be maintained without yet looking to the last resort, the "*ultima ratio regum*."

That should not be looked to until all else fails. That may come. On this point I am hopeful, but not sanguine. But let us use every patriotic effort to prevent it while there is ground for hope.

If any view that I may present, in your judgment, be inconsistent with the best interests of Georgia, I ask you, as patriots, not to regard it. After hearing me and others whom you have advised with, act in the premises according to your own conviction of duty as patriots. I speak now particularly to the members of the Legislature present. There are, as I have said, great dangers ahead. Great dangers may come from the election I have spoken of. If the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Republican associates shall be carried out, or attempted to be carried out, no man in Georgia will be more willing or ready than myself to defend our rights, interest, and honor at every hazard, and to the last extremity. (Applause.)

What is this policy? It is in the first place to exclude us by an act of Congress from the Territories with our slave property. He is for using the power of the General Government against the extensions of our institutions. Our position on this point is and ought to be, at all hazards, for perfect equality between all the States, and the citizens of all the States, in the Territories, under the Constitution of the United States. If Congress should exercise its power against this, then I am for standing where Georgia planted herself in 1850. These were plain propositions which were then laid down in her celebrated platform as sufficient for the disruption of the Union if the occasion should ever come; on these Georgia has declared that she will go out of the Union; and for these she would be justified by the nations of the earth in so doing.









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